

Taking part and playing parts:
Musical identities, roles, participation, and inclusion
at Dartington International Summer School

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I, Hermione Katharine Mary Ruck Keene, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

Dartington International Summer School of Music (DISS) is an annual residential summer festival of predominantly classical musical learning and performance. Open since 1948 to amateurs, aspiring and established professionals, it represents an unusually diverse and multi-generational musical community. This study explores this Utopian vision of inclusive music-making through a qualitative ethnographic case study, utilizing unstructured interviews, observations, participant diaries and field notes. It addresses the following research foci: residents' musical identities in relation to their musical background, expectations, and aspirations; playing roles at DISS; relationships with the act of making music and musical participation; and concepts of musical inclusion in the DISS context and beyond.

Framed by conceptions of Utopia and the carnivalesque, and drawing on the sociology of work and leisure as well as theorisations of musical and dialogic identity, the study finds that DISS plays a significant role in the development and possible disruption of musical identity, allowing for creative risk-taking and the emergence of a 'DISS identity'. Playing different musical roles – learner, teacher, performer, ensemble member, audience member - opens up the possibility of new, fluid, relationships with musical behaviours, as well as re-imagining and interrogating conceptions of musical talent. A 'DISS pedagogy' is discussed, which at its best draws on principles of dialogic teaching to include a diverse range of learners, whilst also presenting challenges in relation to teaching this mixed community. DISS is considered as a site for alternative performance practice in terms of audience-performer relationships, tutors as performers, and amateur-professional collaborations. Tensions between musical process and product, participation and 'standards' are revealed, as well as subtle hierarchies of socio-economic status and longevity of attendance. The potential of DISS as a site for musical inclusion is revealed to be richest in terms of inter-generational music-making possibilities.

Impact statement

This findings of this research serve to illuminate an important and developing area of musical participation: collaboration between groups of musicians that are in some way 'different' to one another. This might apply in the context of amateur-professional music-making, tuition, or performances, in virtual and physical capacities. It might equally apply to inter-generational music-making in care homes or other settings. The insights gathered from researching a residential summer school shed light on the potential barriers to musical participation that might occur in such contexts. Aspiring professional musicians stand in particular to benefit from the research findings, since they are increasingly required to diverse and community settings. Furthermore, the analysis of teaching and learning at DISS gives valuable insight into adult and lifelong learning communities and relationships; the 'DISS pedagogy' identified would seem to be transferable to other musical – and non-musical – settings. Audience development is another area in which the findings of this study are of value; classical music in the 21st century is constantly looking for ways to re-invent itself and engage new audiences, and aspects of the fluid audience-performer-social relationships emerging from DISS could inform innovative future practice.

The findings of this research have already been disseminated via presentations at several conferences, including the ISME World Conference and the Reflective Conservatoire Conference. Aspects have also been explored in a published chapter in the Oxford Handbook of Music and Leisure. Further dissemination within the academic community is intended with the publication of future journal articles investigating aspects of the research, and future presentations at academic conferences; I also intend to write a book based on this study. Building on existing professional links with those working with aspiring professional musicians, opportunities to work directly or indirectly with this user group will be explored. Similar opportunities with arts organisations and community music practitioners will also be investigated. Beyond the academic community, findings will be shared with the DISS community through a public interview and presentation of the research.

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Chapter 1: Rationale and research context

Introduction

Dartington International Summer School of Music (DISS) is an annual residential festival of musical learning and performance, held on the Dartington Hall Estate in South West England. Since 1948, it has welcomed musicians of all backgrounds and ages: amateurs, aspiring and established professionals, and music educators. Residents participate as teachers and learners in structured classes and ensembles, make music in formally organised and ad hoc chamber music groups, and are audience members and performers for daily concerts. DISS' main focus is music in the Western Art or 'classical' music tradition, with some representation of musics from other traditions.

Since 2001 I have attended DISS as a singer and volunteer steward, over which time I have moved from positioning myself as a 'non-musician' to a career as a singer and choral director, primary school music teacher, and academic researching and teaching music education. As I write, I am listening to a BBC Radio 3 concert, featuring a pianist who was an interview respondent for this study, and a double bassist with whom I volunteered as a steward. For someone like me who did not follow a 'traditional' route into classical music teaching and scholarship, DISS has had a significant impact on my musical development and identity, opening doors to friendship and participation in what seemed initially to be an inaccessible musical world.

A comment overheard one night in the DISS bar originally inspired this study: 'I love coming here because you are surrounded by past, present and possible versions of yourself'. DISS is a place where the personal, the institutional, and the musical 'past and future are gathered' –

At the still point of the turning world. Neither flesh nor fleshless;
Neither from nor towards; at the still point, there the dance is,
But neither arrest nor movement. And do not call it fixity,
Where past and future are gathered. Neither movement from nor towards,
Neither ascent nor decline. Except for the point, the still point,
There would be no dance, and there is only the dance.

Eliot, 1944; 5

Enhanced by this quality as a 'still point' in the 'turning world' of real life, DISS is and always has been a Utopian project, full of possibility, informed by its past, looking to the future, and rich with possibilities for exploring the musical self. Like any project with such idealistic goals, it also has the potential to disrupt and to destabilise – or just to reinforce the status quo. My study aims to explore the possibilities and the tensions manifested within the DISS experience.

Rationale and research foci

DISS is a community contained by time-frame and location, yet in dialogue with its history and that of its residents. It offers an idealistic, democratic vision of musical participation, played out around, against and beyond the more expected role restrictions of the 'amateur' and 'professional' landscape of classical music in the United Kingdom. Throughout their stay, residents take part in many musical activities, often moving from teacher or learner to performer and audience roles within each day. Concurrently, they explore their identity, as the musical scenarios they experience offer the chance to perform their musical selves in multiple ways and enter into dialogue, with others, with the self, and within the act of music-making. The learning and performance environment presents a unique situation for formal and informal music-making and learning, where residents change musical roles fluidly. All this tends towards rather a Utopian vision, echoing that upon which DISS was first established, against the background of a social experiment linking the arts, the rural environment and education, and in a post-war climate of commitment to social cohesion. The societal divisions of 1940s Britain persist in the 21st century, and, now as then, music is proposed as a route towards social cohesion and harmony.

DISS provides an opportunity to investigate questions relating to musical identities, roles, participation, and inclusion in a single bounded case. The effects of this environment on the individual, the relationship to the wider musical community, and the potential to re-enact or challenge musical inclusivity in other settings can all be considered. It also permits the interrogation of what happens when, for each participant returning to normal life, the status quo is re-established at the end of the summer. If this Utopian vision of equality in music-making does not exist in the 'real world,' then what does it achieve, and what can it tell music researchers, educators,

and others? DISS' dialogic relationship with its past also raises further questions about whether this vision of social and musical harmony can be uprooted from its historical genesis into a fluctuating, insecure contemporary socio-musical context.

These important considerations are relevant not only to DISS, but also in the wider classical music universe. A changing and changeable musical landscape, combined with rapid technological advances, continuously opens up possibilities for participatory music-making in real, virtual, and imagined communities (Burnard, 2012; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Opportunities for audiences and performers to interact beyond the concert performance context are increasingly widespread (Pitts et al, 2013), motivated by audience development, retention, and in some cases the funding possibilities offered by these relationships. Furthermore, musicians with diverse levels of experience and expertise are increasingly making music side by side. Cuts in Arts funding have led to reduced performance budgets, which, combined with the burgeoning in participation and outreach activities since the 1990s (Winterson, 1994; 1996), has led to many collaborative music-making opportunities and performances between amateurs and professionals. Participants in these events bring different expectations, aspirations, and musical identities, which can be disrupted either negatively or positively by juxtaposition with musicians who are in some way 'different'. Although it is impossible for the organisers and leaders of these events to incorporate each participant's individual requirements, an awareness of their differing needs can only add to their enjoyment, dialogues, and musical fulfilment.

The findings of this thesis therefore seek to offer a contribution to various classical music-making and music education contexts in the United Kingdom and potentially beyond. They may serve to inform development of effective practice in adult education and lifelong learning in music in summer schools, adult education centres, higher education, 'outreach' activities and community settings. They also aim to contribute to understandings of dialogic identities in collaborative amateur-professional music-making scenarios, as well as offering new perspectives on audience-performer positionalities. Furthermore, they contribute to the rapidly developing body of knowledge in the field of inter-generational music-making.

This research is framed by existing literature, in which amateur music-making in the classical tradition in the United Kingdom has been well researched. Salient, influential examples include Finnegan's (1989) study of the diverse musical activity in

Milton Keynes, and Pitts' (2005) exploration of musical participation amongst music students, amateur musicians and audience members in three different settings. These seminal works have been followed by many studies of amateur music-making, including those by Taylor exploring adult learners' musical identities (Taylor, 2010a and b; 2011), studies of particular groups such as choirs (Durrant & Himonides, 1998; Bonshor, 2014b), and further work by Pitts on lifelong participation in music (Pitts et al., 2015; Pitts & Robinson, 2016). These studies all identify the significant role that music plays in the lives of many amateur musicians, and their dedication to what is for them primarily a leisure activity.

The professional music world has also been well documented. Significant studies include Cottrell's (2004) investigation of London orchestral musicians, and Haddon (2006), who interviewed conductors, composers and performers from the classical, jazz and folk traditions in the UK. Studies of professional musicians' working lifestyles have been conducted by Dobson (2011), Coulson (2010, 2012) and Whiting and Hannam (2015). Conservatoire students, aspiring professionals and their teachers have been widely researched: Kingsbury (1988) and Nettl (1995) laid the ground for studies by Mills (Mills, 2004a; Mills, 2004b; Burt & Mills, 2006), Perkins (Perkins, 2013a and b; Perkins, Aufegger, & Williamon, 2014) and Gaunt (Gaunt, 2008; Gaunt, 2011; Gaunt et al, 2012), which explore the conservatoire pedagogy, student identity and developing career, and relationship between teacher and student.

Where interactions between amateur and professional or aspiring professional musicians have been investigated, these have tended to focus on the audience-performer relationship. These studies include works by Pitts (2005b), exploring the experiences and sense of community amongst regular audience members at a chamber music festival, Dobson (2008), investigating the correlation between venue and audience experience in larger venues, Burland and Pitts (2010), researching audiences at the Edinburgh Jazz Festival, Dobson and Pitts (2011), exploring the experience of first-time attenders at classical concerts, and Radbourne et al. (2013), whose in-depth volume considers the audience experience from a variety of perspectives.

To date, though, there has been little in-depth exploration of the repercussions for musical identities, roles, participation, and inclusion, in a context where musicians cutting across amateur, professional, aspiring professional and semi-professional

backgrounds share a residential music-making space, orientated towards teaching, learning, performance, and/or the pleasure of playing together. DISS is an atypical classical music context in that it is attended by tutors, learners and performers with diverse backgrounds, or pathways, of training, experience and aspiration, representing a wide age-range, from children to those towards the end of their lives. Finnegan (1989) uses the term 'pathway' to describe musical backgrounds and patterns of behaviour, considering that it encompasses a fluid range of possibilities, and I have adopted this term throughout to refer to the everyday music-making lives of those at DISS. DISS may serve purely leisure purposes; it may be primarily a site for learning; or may be part of professional activity as performer or teacher. For many residents, it may simultaneously fulfil aspects of leisure, work and learning. DISS therefore encompasses an unusually diverse range of ages, musical pathways, aspirations, expectations and intentions.

In his analysis of the Venezuelan El Sistema orchestras, Baker (2014) highlights a growing field of 'critical analysis of classical music culture, much of it written by scholars who respect this music but are not afraid to shine a harsh light on its institutions' (Baker, 2014; 11). This field includes Born's (1995) analysis of IRCAM¹, Kingsbury's (1988) and Nettle's (1995) studies of conservatoires, Small (1998) regarding classical music more broadly, and explorations of symphony orchestras such as Cottrell (2004). Baker suggests a critical approach to the 'institutions, pedagogies and practices that mediate [classical music]' (12), inspired by this developing field of institutional criticism - to which critical explorations of Daniel Baronboim's West-Eastern Divan Orchestra have also been added (Willson, 2009; Wakeling, 2010) - and incorporating the critical approaches to music pedagogy taken by, for example, Jorgensen (1997, 2003) and Green (2002, 2008). DISS provides fertile ground for a further critical study of this kind. The Utopian vision of inclusive music-making which it fulfils at first glance may instead reveal, reinforce or contribute to existing hierarchical relationships in the field of classical music production, reproduction and reception.

My study starts with a brief historical contextualisation of amateur, professional and collaborative music-making in the classical tradition, before discussing

¹ Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique, Paris

the historical evolution of DISS, analysed with relation to concepts of Utopia. I then move to my central foci:

1. Residents' musical identities in relation to their pathway, expectations, and aspirations.
2. Playing roles at DISS: learner, teacher, ensemble member, performer, and audience member.
3. Relationships with the act of making music and musical participation.
4. Concepts of musical inclusion at DISS and potential relationships to the wider musical community.

These research foci inform the structure of the thesis; threads of discussion running through it include: residents' intentions, aspirations, and expectations; relationships between musical process and product; and the Utopian ideals discussed above.

Research context

Amateurs and professionals in classical music: defining the terms

The terms 'amateur' and 'professional' are widely used to differentiate between those who make music 'for the love of it' (Booth, 2000) and those who receive payment for their musical work. These terms are far from neutral; as Finnegan (1989) states, 'professional' is a nebulous term resting 'on underlying and disputing ambiguities' (15). Writing in 1958, Hughes described the 'professional' as associated with value, prestige and a considerable level of training, and having aspirational connotations as 'a symbol for a desired conception of one's work, and, hence, of one's self' (Hughes, 1958; 44). Finnegan (1989) highlights the emotional and potentially political nature of a differentiation between the amateur and professional, revealing an evaluative aspect; for example, amateur musicians may define a professional in terms of their 'high standard', qualifications, teachers, musical role, 'or appearance as a regular performer with musicians themselves regarded as 'professional'' (15).

Finnegan concludes that it is impossible to define the amateur, professional or semi-professional musician, proposing instead a continuum, upon which the individual's position varies throughout the life course and along which those seeking to

make music their primary source of income progress. Aspiring music students may lead local ensembles, or act as soloists with youth groups, before attending a conservatoire; these same individuals may then look to their local area for pupils and performance opportunities. Kirschner (1998) also suggests a continuum, but in his case linked to success, determined by culture, reach, and influence of musical production. This conception though is framed in a rock music context, where 'every upwardly mobile rock band seeks to be more successful' (254); for many amateur musicians in the classical tradition success through recognition by others or monetary reward is not the primary goal of making music.

Camlin (2014), drawing on Turino's (2008) differentiation between presentational and participatory music, presents a continuum as a way of considering the relationship between music that is made with the goal of performance and that which is motivated by a process of active engagement with the musical act:

Turino's fields of musicking become points along a continuum, with presentational music at one end, and participatory music at the other, in a state of creative tension within which the diverse panoply of music is realized. It is precisely this creative tension that gives rise to exciting new forms.

Camlin, 2014; 106

Camlin's identification of the 'creative tension' existing between the ends of the spectrum adds to Finnegan and Kirschner's economic or success-based conception of the continuum, suggesting not forward progression but dialogue as the salient feature; at DISS, the 'exciting new forms' might not necessarily be creative outputs or new pieces of work, but new ways of behaving, working together and entering into dialogue as music-makers.

Camlin builds on Turino (2008), who describes the 'shift in thinking of *music making* as a social activity to *music* as an object' (24); Turino identifies broadly different functions of what we call 'music' and argues that we cannot define participatory and presentational as aspects of the same activity, but, drawing on Bourdieu, as different behaviours with associated habitus and field. He links the presentational with classical music, whilst participatory music is, in his view, the domain of other musical traditions. As will be seen later, this is problematic in the DISS

context because many residents' experiences cross over from the participatory to the presentational, or aspires to the presentational when a participatory goal might be more appropriate. Turino's consideration of the relationship between music and those who make it is though a useful way into a short consideration of the changing status over time of the amateur, the professional and the music they make.

The evolution of the amateur-professional relationship

Throughout the history of classical music in the Western Art Music tradition, the roles of the 'amateur' (participatory) and 'professional' (presentational) musician, the contexts in which they make music, and the ways in which expertise passes from one to the other, have fluctuated. In medieval times, presentational music was an expression of aristocratic and civic authority (Weber, 2004; Mengozzi, 2012); participatory, domestic music-making consisted of aristocratic family members or servants performing for their patrons (DeNora, 1995; Grout & Palisca, 1996). The rise of the middle class during the Renaissance brought humanistic education, artistic aspirations and available leisure time to pursue musical pursuits (Banks, 2012). An 'aesthetic of elegance in which an amateur could succeed without necessarily being seen to try too hard' (Banks, 2012; 297) replaced expressions of the power of employers and patrons. During the Classical period, published music was composed to suit the technical capacities of the amateur performer, aspiring above all to a quality of 'pleasingness' (DeNora, 1995). With the emergence of the virtuoso soloist in the late eighteenth century, the gap between *Kenner* (expert) and *Liebhaber* (amateur) widened, as the status of composer as genius was established (DeNora, 1995). Scores for amateur musicians were produced, incorporating instructional treatises by celebrated performers, and giving 'professional trade secrets about the right way to perform' (McVeigh, 2012; 493).

Performances in which amateurs and patrons played alongside their professional counterparts and employees were frequent until the nineteenth century (Weber, 2004); travelling musicians would put together programmes involving local amateur musicians (Small, 1998). In the eighteenth century, it was possible for aristocratic gentlemen and women to perform in theatricals and play instruments – and even for gentlemen to play alongside professional musicians – but the occasions

had to be essentially private and involved no remuneration, with this financial aspect the defining difference between amateur and professional music-making, with a concurrent contrast in attitude:

For one it was perceived to be an act of labour undertaken for remuneration, for the other it was a purely aesthetic experience; for one it was an exercise in manual dexterity, for the other a mental process drawing upon the superior qualities of the mind.

Borsay, 2006; 105

In the early nineteenth century, musicians underwent a process of 'professionalization' (Weber, 2004), moving away from the patronage system and gaining greater control over the settings in which they worked. The concretisation of the concert series as a form of entertainment allowed increasing input from the new class of professional musicians who contributed to the organisation of performances. This served to sharpen 'the distinction between the amateur and the professional' (Weber, 2004; 12). Amateur performances continued, but their status was clearly differentiated from the professional (McVeigh, 2012); separations were also made in the genres performed, with concerts divided into those presenting orchestral, virtuosic, operatic and chamber music (Weber, 2004). 'Dilettante participation' (McVeigh, 2012) continued though in environments such as the Concert des Amateurs, a concert series established in Paris in 1769 and combining an orchestra of mainly amateur musicians with leading soloists (Banat, 2006). Leading virtuosi were also invited to spend the summer at the country home of their wealthy patrons or other musical families, 'mingling in domestic music-making' (McVeigh, 2012; 489).

During this era, the foundations of concert-going etiquette which persist today were laid, and musical taste began to denote social difference (McVeigh, 2012). The association between live performance and social class which continues today (Small, 1998) was established, and the idea of the performer as a conduit of the composer's genius began to gain currency. The construction of purpose-built concert halls contributed to the sense that performance should take place in

a magical place set aside from everyday life, where we can contemplate, in stillness and in silence, the works of master musicians [...] a place where middle class white people can feel safe together.

Small, 1998; 35

Thus venue, status of performers, and social norms expected of audiences combined to render classical music performance the property of the elite, where expert reproduction of the score by skilled professional performers was celebrated by paying audiences. Associated with the burgeoning of concert performances was a greater need for qualifications; the profession of the musician began to be taught at the new conservatoires in Paris and London (Musgrave, 2012), which came to be viewed as protectors of musical standards (Sloboda & Ford, 2011). This focus on training and performance inevitably squeezed out the role of the amateur musician in performance situations; according to Musgrave (2012), by 1900, the most common musical performance experience of the amateur would have been as a choir member.

The musical story of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is one of a tension between the democratising and hierarchizing of classical music, where the relationship between 'amateur' and 'professional' musicians fluctuates. Since the early twentieth century, live performance has been increasingly challenged by recorded music. The rise of music generated by technology in professional and domestic settings has opened up possibilities for anyone to share their musical output (Cottrell, 2012; El-Ghadban, 2009), and questioned the existence of live performance. At the same time, beginning with the avant-garde movement of the 1940s, composers began to produce works requiring levels of vocal and instrumental technique that rendered them inaccessible to the amateur musician. The rise of technology is both democratising and divisive; as Jorgensen states:

Inventions provide the means to democratize music and to compose, perform, record, and distribute it widely, yet they ghettoize musical publics and fragment musical tastes.

Jorgensen, 2003; 2

Cook (2013; 405) refers to the 'policy-based professionalization of classical performance at the expense of its participatory basis' and contrasts this starkly with the participatory culture supporting other musical genres such as rock and pop. Amateur participation in music-making continues to thrive in new and innovative settings, for example the burgeoning numbers of choirs inspired by the conductor Gareth Malone, with their commitment to social change through music making (Cook, 2013) – but contexts for formal, live performance often remain demarcated. On one level, the increasing engagement with classical music engendered by outreach and education programmes has increased access to the art form; but the segregated nature of many of these schemes may serve to reinforce the differences between amateur and professional musicians.

Musical producers, consumers and policy makers in the twenty first century have questioned the relevance of performance conventions to today's audiences, highlighting the anachronism of classical music as an art form in continuing to rely on non-participatory, passive models of reception (Sloboda & Ford, 2011). This has been prompted by declining audience numbers both in absolute terms and compared to other art forms (Kolb, 2001; Sloboda, 2013), and audience composition in terms of increasing age and limited socio-economic, educational and ethnic diversity (Kolb, 2001; O'Sullivan, 2009). The shift to what Bauman (1998) terms a 'consumerist society' has impacted significantly on the role of music and musical performance in society. The accessibility of recordings online has transformed music listening into a personal experience, available on demand and separated from its original social context and the possibility of immediate and physical 'collective aesthetic response' (Lawson & Stowell, 2012; xxiii) afforded by live performance. The democratisation of classical music performance afforded by such easy access (Kenyon, 2012) makes the ritualistic, elitist aspects of live performance as outlined by Small (1998) still more incongruous. The need for physical contact with teachers and performing musicians is diminishing; both music tuition and live performances are easily available online. Keen (2007), writing a decade ago, described the participatory internet revolution as 'a flattening of culture that is blurring the lines between traditional audience and author, creator and consumer, expert and amateur' (2). He considered the rise of sites which allow 'amateurs' to upload their digital creations to be a serious threat to the integrity of media and the arts, removing the need for gatekeepers and the possibility for the

validation of 'talent' by the 'intermediaries' of traditional media (30). Keen's polemical position against the democratising effect of the Internet is counteracted by Gauntlett (2011) who proposes that user uploads to the Web 2.0 platform enable the growth of virtual communities, where virtual aesthetic responses and online communities share characteristics of concert-going communities and allowing for the sort of discussions identified by Cottrell (2004) as occurring in spaces such as foyers before concerts and during the interval. Jenkins (2006; 1) refers to the 'active audience', existing predominantly online and allowing for the transformation of 'spectatorial' culture into 'participatory' culture (41).

The musical context for the evolution of DISS is framed therefore by shifting relationships with acts of musical production, reproduction and reception, and wider questions of the accessibility and inclusivity of the classical music genre. The universe in which DISS takes place today is also radically different to the one in which it had its genesis; its history and early days will be discussed following an exploration of the Dartington Hall Estate, its home since 1953.

Dartington Hall: Utopia, social justice and the arts

DISS is a nebulous entity, resisting simple definitions. This opacity is exacerbated by the lack of comprehensive historical accounts of DISS or the Dartington Hall Estate. Documentation relating to Dartington includes a history of the estate by Bonham-Carter, commissioned by the Dartington Hall Trustees (Bonham-Carter, 1954; Bonham-Carter & Curry, 1970). Other published works are authored by those with considerable personal stakes in the project. Young (1982) gives an account belying the influence of his time at Dartington Hall School and close relationship with the Elmhursts. Cox (2005), the first Principal of Dartington College of Arts (DCA), subtitles his book 'A Personal Account', and it is permeated by the complex nature of his relationship with the Elmhursts. Richards (2015), a DCA lecturer, gives an account of DCA's history rooted in the context of the politics surrounding its relocation in 2010.² Further material is found in works relating to Dartington Hall School (Kidel, 1990), DCA (Cox, 1977; Dobbs, 1984; Ross, 2009; Murray & Hall, 2011), dance (Hutchinson Guest, 2006; Nicholas, 2007) and the visual arts (Harrison, 2002) at Dartington; in the autobiographies of

² In 2010 Dartington College of Arts became part of the University of Falmouth

William Glock (Glock, 1991) and John Amis (Amis, 1985), the first Artistic Director and Administrator; and in the biography of Imogen Holst (Grogan et al., 2007), who was significantly involved with the Arts at Dartington (Cox & Dobbs, 1988).³ Some press and archival material is also available publicly. I have pieced together a history from these sources, validating it by cross-referencing and returning to archival material where possible, and also drawing on references to the history of DISS and the Dartington Hall project in the research data. Despite the piecemeal evidence, a historical context emerges which makes an important contribution to consideration of DISS today and frames the questions of musical identities, roles, participation and inclusion which inform my study.

Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst

In 1925, the newly married Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst purchased the Dartington Hall Estate, a place of ‘almost dream-like beauty’ (Kidel, 1990; 5) near Totnes in Devon, South West England, as the site of their ‘English Experiment’ (Young, 1982). She was an American heiress with an acute sense of responsibility regarding the distribution of her considerable wealth (Nicholas, 2007). He was a Yorkshire vicar’s son and Cornell University Agriculture graduate, who had worked as secretary to the poet and social reformer Rabindranath Tagore, creating a centre for rural reconstruction at his community settlement and school in Santinikaten, Bengal. The abandoned fourteenth century estate at Dartington provided the ideal location for an experiment combining Dorothy’s philanthropic love of the arts and Leonard’s desire to enact Tagore’s principles integrating social justice, education and agriculture. Its particular beauty was fundamental to the aim of ‘reconstructing a traditional estate’ with a vision of a ‘world re-constructed as one, with the specialisations of modern society brought together around a central defining form arising out of a sense of place’ (Kidel, 1990; 2). On taking possession of the estate, Leonard wrote to Tagore - ‘Beauty is ours, ours a countryside like one endless garden’ (Ballenger, 2012; 8).

The project was founded on a ‘mythology’ (Kidel, 1990) with the Elmhirsts refusing to define the purposes ‘or later let any of [those involved in administering the project] define them’ as anything other than ‘an Experiment in Rural

³ Composer, music educator and daughter of the composer Gustav Holst.

Reconstruction’ (Cox, 2005; 7). Heavily inspired by their individual personalities, interests and previous experiences, the experiment aimed to create an equitable community focused on four areas: rural regeneration (including the restoration of the estate’s buildings), research, education and the arts. Research and dissemination of the findings of the ‘experiment’ were central to the Elmhursts’ vision (Bonham-Carter & Curry, 1970), as exemplified by the founding of a school in 1926, initially to educate Dorothy’s three children.⁴

The establishment ‘along the lines of a scientific experiment’ (Kidel, 1990; 4) whose basic hypothesis was the possibility of a ‘good place’ (Nicholas, 2007; 2) proposes a seemingly impossible combination of scientific social and economic reconstruction and change (driven by Leonard) and a fantastical idealism founded on the optimism born from lifelong economic security (Dorothy’s contribution). The individual influence, financial means of the founders, and the uncertainty surrounding the ‘experiment’ established a foundation for ‘Dartington’ which was idealistic, fantastical and unsustainable – ‘a haven for theorists and extremists that could not possibly last’ (Bonham-Carter, 1954; 6). The lack of clarity and conflicting aims ‘produced a good deal of friction and misunderstanding’ (Bonham-Carter, 1954; 6). Richards (2015) traces tensions at DCA back to the contradictions at the heart of the Dartington project:

A kind of baronial bohemian culture enabled by privilege sat alongside a realistic, pragmatic desire to take part in modern society with its democratic rhetoric, its new opportunities, its official structures and bureaucracies. This fundamental fissure, this basic divide between neo-feudalism and compromised democracy, was one of modern Dartington’s deepest, never-to-be-reconciled contradictions.

Richards, 2015; 47

The Dartington Hall project thus encompassed education, the arts and a vision for social justice founded on Utopian principles, whilst also embodying the tensions such optimistic ideals both highlight and create.

⁴ Dartington Hall School opened in 1926 with ten pupils and delivered child-centred progressive education until 1986, with the arts and the local agricultural environment integral to the curriculum.

Utopian ideals

The Dartington vision reflects the ideals of William Morris, socialist thinker, artist and creator of a literary Utopia with his 1890 novel 'News from Nowhere', 'in the detailed attention to reclaiming the environment, the provision of useful and productive occupation for the local population and a broad and generous concept of art for the wider community (MacCarthy, 2014; 106).⁵ Sargent (2010) proposes a triple framing of Utopia; literary Utopias such as those created by Morris and by Thomas More in his eponymous 1516 novel lay the ground for a second and third conception – intentional communities (Utopia in practice) and Utopian social theory. Literary Utopias are imaginary places which act as an 'expression of desire' (Carey, 1999; xi), and uniting the three tropes is a desire to ask questions about how society works, and a search for a better version of what surrounds us. 'It is [the] showing of everyday life transformed that characterizes a Utopia, and Utopianism is about just that transformation of the everyday.' (Sargent, 2010; 4). Utopian visions are therefore concerned with the present – in their attempts to redefine it – the future – the location for their imagined world and, as Young (1982) points out, the past:

There is nearly always an underlying supposition that there was once a Golden Age and that all is needed to make the future brighter is to return to the Age, in a suitable modern form.

Young, 1982; 128

Claeys (2011; 7) describes Utopia as 'an ideal present, an ideal past and an ideal future, and the relation between the three', and Richards (2015) demonstrates how Leonard Elmhirst's choice of location for his experiment in rural reconstruction, and the language describing it in his letters and diaries, referring to the estate as 'a veritable fairy land' and Dorothy as 'the squire's wife' (46), point to 'a mythology, a sense of continuity from a distant past which he dreams of connecting to the present across a period of decay during which the world itself had taken a turn for the worst' (46).

Although commonly interpreted to represent perfection, More's invented word actually means 'no place'. Carey (1999) points out that in order to create a new

⁵ For a more detailed explanation of Morris' life and philosophy, see MacCarthy (2014)

imagined world it is necessary to destroy the real one, including its human inhabitants, and authors of literary Utopias present various solutions to this problem. In a more frightening sense, as identified by Sargent (2010) and Roberts and Freeman-Moir (2013), a Utopian vision for society can easily become authoritarian and characterised by dogma, exemplified by Soviet communism, Nazism and Fascism. In response to the potential danger of considering Utopia as a blueprint, Roberts and Freeman-Moir (2013) prefer to conceptualise it as 'method or process' (1), 'an attitude and a mode of being [rather than] a clearly detailed plan or doctrine... *better* worlds, not perfect worlds' (xii). Modern Utopianism is threatened by instability and a fragmentation of society; in an episode of 'Thinking Aloud' on BBC Radio 4 (Thinking Aloud, 2010), the philosopher Ash Amin proposed that the rise of neoliberalism and the dominance of market philosophy presents a significant threat to Utopianism, claiming that we have forgotten how to imagine a future beyond the market society. In his view, we have 'lost the sense of knowing what might happen beyond the present' and a capacity to feel hopeful about the world, especially in the context of the globalization of terror and risk. His view was further expanded by Martin Warner, stating that with the increasing 'diminution of what it is to be human' in the face of technological advances and the erosion of belief in all-powerful deities, a 'vision of man-made Utopia' is bound to lead to frustration.

This perspective is echoed by Bauman, who considers that

'Utopian dreams' need two conditions: an overwhelming feeling that the world is not functioning properly, and needs to be set right, combined with a confidence in human capability to 'force the world into a shape better fit to the satisfaction of human needs'.

Jacobsen & Tester, 2007; 317

Writing in 2007, Bauman states that these conditions are either missing or weakened, undermined by the individualistic consumerism that defines the modern world, where 'progress [...] has moved from the discourse of shared improvement to that of the individual survival' (ibid, 317), and Utopian dreams for the hope of a better, collective future, have been replaced by isolated escapism. Bauman defines the 'Utopia' of liquid modern times as a 'deregulated', 'privatized' and 'individualized' 'version of the old-

style visions of good society, society hospitable to the humanity of its members' (ibid, 319). In his version, Utopia is 'brought from the misty 'far away' into the tangible 'here and now', 'Utopia lived rather than being lived towards' (ibid, 320) as it is characterised by an individualised, endless 'hunting' for something that will take individuals away from the everyday, an escape through distraction. Bauman also reflects on the correspondence between Utopia and nostalgia, framing historical sequences as 'pendulum-like' and stating that 'a close proximity of 'forward and backward' or 'Utopia' and 'nostalgia' pregnant with confusion is virtually inevitable...' (ibid, 321). This relationship between looking forward and looking backward is fundamental to the understanding of both the Dartington Hall project and the experience of those attending DISS, as is the tension between the individual and collective Utopia. A counteraction to an overall loss of faith in a Utopian vision is presented by small-scale projects, such as the Transition Town movement, and isolated models of sustainable living; DISS may be positioned as such a small-scale Utopia, a temporary 'intentional community' (Sargent, 2010).⁶

Wallace (2014) and Adams (1992) connect Utopian ideals and music, tracing a line in 'socialist education' from William Morris to Gustav Holst:

[Gustav] Holst believed that the people of the lower classes could offer up performances of music rivalling those trained in conservatories [...] Holst did not choose the glamorous route of a composer; he chose a pedagogical one in the hopes of awakening a true working-class—and socialist—musical movement.

Wallace, 2014; 24

Adams (1992; 586) describes Gustav Holst as 'the William Morris of music', stating that 'for Holst, like Morris, there was no dichotomy between the beautiful and the useful' and attributing his commitment to composing music for amateurs to this aesthetic. An example of Holst's pedagogical approach towards amateur music making is the music festivals he organised in Thaxted between 1916 and 1918, where local singers and his students from Morley College and St Paul's Girls School came together to perform

⁶ For more information about the Transition Towns movement, see <https://www.transitionnetwork.org/> and <http://www.transitiontowntotnes.org/>

works from the early music canon, alongside impromptu music-making and dancing (Heywood, 1996). Besides embodying William Morris' 'strong belief in the potential for creativity of all people' (Heywood, 1996; 44) these festivals seem too like a forerunner of DISS for the similarity to be coincidental.

Levitas (2010) refers to the 'capacity of music to transport the listener or performer into a better world' (216), whilst Barenboim (2006) argues that the act of making music with others enacts an 'alternative social model, a practical Utopia, from which we might learn about expressing ourselves freely and hearing one another.' He is discussing here the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, established in 1999 and bringing together young musicians from across the Middle East. Barenboim (2006) claims that making music matters more than status or difference, but Beckles Willson (2009) presents an alternative view of the same orchestra, stating that it relies on assumptions about music's capacity to be a unifying force merely by playing together; in her conception, the gap between musical and political discourse may actually be reinforced by making music with the 'other'.

The educational philosophy of the Elmhursts, and to some extent DISS, also reflect a Utopian vision for education as exemplified by Paolo Freire (Roberts, 2015). A connection between education and Utopia can easily be made, because 'education is intimately bound up with asking and offering creditable answers to the question of how we should live as individuals and together' (Roberts & Freeman-Moir, 2013; x). An even earlier progressive educationalist, John Dewey, is compared to William Morris in terms of relationships to the past and to the act of craftsmanship by Roberts and Freeman-Moir, who describe a 'Utopian ideal that anyone can be a craftsman' (ibid; 11), chiming with the inclusive ideals of DISS. In Morris' view, art objects are defined by the experience of those who find pleasure in making, using or contemplating them, and 'The pleasure of producing things [...] and the pleasure of using things means that everyone can participate in an artful environment' (Roberts & Freeman-Moir, 2013; 19). DISS could be described as a contained Utopian community, something like the alternative world experienced by Guest, the narrator of 'News from Nowhere', who finds spaces which 'frame an almost seamless expression of leisure, pleasurable work, and rest [...] The continuities of Utopia contrast for Guest with the discontinuities characteristic of his pre-Utopian experience.' (Roberts & Freeman-Moir, 2013; 12).

Morris' conceptualisation of the intertwining of 'leisure, pleasurable work and rest' is reflected in Löfgren's (1999) presentation of vacations, where holidays are described as 'manageable Utopias':

where people have been able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relation, or their interaction with nature [...] Since we construct vacations in terms of otherness, of getting away from it all, they make some facets of our everyday lives and tensions more visible. Vacations remain one of the few manageable Utopias in our lives.

Löfgren, 1999; 7

This idea of a Utopia under our control, a space for exploring a new identity and relationship with our surroundings, is very pertinent in the context of this study, which will explore the idea of a 'leisure identity' in greater depth below.

Dartington is thus a site for multiple Utopian visions, beginning with the Elmhursts' original project, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3. From here, whilst I continue to talk about the history of Dartington in the main body of the thesis, I interweave data from the current day into the discussion of the findings. I therefore move to my methodology, data collection and data analysis.

Overview of chapters

Chapter 1 has introduced the rationale and research foci, followed by the research context, situated within the broader classical music universe. I have explored the background to amateur, professional and amateur-professional music-making in the classical tradition, discussing the changing relationships between musical producer, reproducer and receiver. This has provided a context for a brief history of the Dartington Hall project and its Utopian ideals, setting up later discussion of how these ideals have informed the development of DISS. Chapter 2 locates my study in its discipline and research paradigm; I discuss researcher positionality, theoretical framework and the ethical considerations framing my research design, followed by data collection methods, sampling and analysis. I have decided not to include a

literature review in the form of a separate chapter. This is partly because the breadth and depth of literature informing this study is considerable; and also because I feel it is more appropriate to review, critique and compare literature in relation to my findings as the thesis goes along. References to appropriate theoretical and research literature have therefore been woven into the text to support and interrogate my findings, and to inform these dialogic interactions.

From Chapter Three onwards, I commence the presentation of data and analysis of findings. At the end of this and each subsequent chapter I identify the main arguments and conclusions put forward. These are presented by summarising the chapter's content and identifying the 'thinking devices' (Lotman, 1988) arising from the discussion. 'Thinking devices' frame text as generative of new meanings; these key messages contribute therefore to a dialogue encompassing the interactions between my findings, the theoretical and conceptual perspectives informing my study, and existing research.

Chapter 3 explores the genesis of DISS and the experience of attending DISS in the twenty-first century, and in Chapter 4 I discuss the residents' musical identities, with relation to their musical pathway and aspirations, before considering the notion of a 'DISS identity'. Chapter 5 examines the musical transmission process in terms of formal, informal and non-formal modes of learning and the musical score, whilst Chapter 6 considers the teaching and learning role as enacted at DISS, exploring the DISS learning community, connection between learning and musical identity, the masterclass format as it appears at DISS and finally discussing a 'DISS pedagogy'. Chapter 7 explores relationships to the act of music-making together, in terms of musical relationships, notions of 'talent' and musical standards, musical process and product, group music-making and leadership. Chapter 8 discusses the DISS experience from the perspective of performer and audience member, whilst Chapter 9 considers musical inclusion and opportunities at DISS in terms of equality, power, hierarchies, dialogue, choice and agency, the emotional quality of musical activity, wellbeing, and the perceived impact of attending DISS. Finally, I present my conclusions and recommendations for the application of the findings in other contexts.

Chapter 2: Methodology, data collection and data analysis

I begin this chapter by situating my research within its research paradigm and discipline, before outlining my methods and ethical considerations. This is followed by a description of the data collection and analysis methods employed.

Research paradigm

DISS is a multi-faceted phenomenon, requiring an epistemological and ontological framework founded in the fluidity of human experience. My perspectives on musical identity, participation and inclusion, and my analysis of the research data, sit within a constructivist epistemology, drawing on a social constructionist conception of the relational identity. This is situated within a symbolic interactionist view of a social world which is, as proposed by Mead (1913), interactive and processual, and where identity is informed by symbol-manipulating and emergence. The 'flexible, iterative, [and] naturalistic' (Gibson & Brown, 2009; 8) approach characterised by qualitative research is therefore as the most appropriate to address my research foci. The holistic, 'aesthetic' (Tracy, 2010) nature of qualitative research enables it to capture the complexity of human interactions, and within this paradigm researchers have the capacity to examine the construction of meaning, interrogate the details of peoples' lives or frames of reference, and reflect on their own role in generating data.

The flexibility of qualitative research has faced criticism for a perceived failure to produce outcomes which are as rigorous and generalizable as those generated by quantitative methods, a debate framed by the 'so-called paradigm wars of the 1980s' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; 2). Responses to this criticism vary; one solution is the application of more rigid frameworks, such as that proposed by Creswell and Miller (2000). They suggest a framework for qualitative enquiry which allows for a choice of validity procedures governed by the dual perspectives of the lens chosen by researchers to validate their studies and the paradigm assumptions underlying the research (postpositivist, constructivist or critical). The application of such frameworks might though undermine the flexibility characterising qualitative research, and may also fail to allow for the specificity of each research context, which, according to

Gibson and Brown (2009) precludes the possibility of providing generalizable guidelines for the analysis of qualitative data.

Tracy (2010) makes instead a compelling case for eight overarching guidelines for qualitative research which go beyond criteria linked to specific theories and paradigms, calling for a flexibility of approach encompassing the diversity of qualitative enquiry without compromising on quality, rigour and relevance. She differentiates between the end goals of high quality research and the variety of means of achieving them, presenting eight criteria of qualitative enquiry, each of which 'may be achieved through a variety of craft skills that are flexible depending on the goals of the study and preferences/skills of the researcher' (839). These criteria resonate strongly with my own perspective on qualitative enquiry, and provide an invaluable backdrop for the approach which I have taken. They are: a worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, a significant contribution, ethical and meaningful coherence (Tracey, 2010; 840). As discussed in my opening rationale, DISS' diverse community is a topic that is worthy of study, as it has not yet been subject to in-depth enquiry. Rigour has been achieved through my choice of data collection methods. Sincerity arises from my own long-time personal connection to DISS, and more importantly, that of many of my respondents. My methods support findings that are credible, since I have tried at all times to prioritise the respondents' voice in my data collection and analysis; I have also reflected carefully on my role as researcher. My findings resonate with other musical contexts and consequently stand to make a significant contribution to the field of research into amateur and professional music-making. I believe that my findings are reported coherently, giving due consideration to the ethical complexities of conducting this type of study.

Discipline and theoretical framework

Without theory, research is impossibly narrow. Without research, theory is mere armchair contemplation.

Silverman, 2010; 115

The relationship between theory and qualitative research is complex, contested, and indubitably intertwined. Silverman's perspective on the role of theory in qualitative

research suggests that a choice of qualitative methods is in itself a theoretical decision, relating to 'not only how we conceptualize the world but also to our theory of how our research subjects think about themselves' (ibid;115). Creswell (2009) presents four uses for theory in qualitative research: as a 'broad explanation for behaviour and attitudes [...] complete with variables, constructs and hypotheses' (61); as a lens or perspective, providing an overall orientating perspective; as an end point to the study through 'an inductive process of building from the data to broad themes to a generalised model' (63); or, finally, as absent in an explicit form 'some qualitative studies *do not employ any explicit theory*' (64; italics in original). In the latter case, Creswell states that 'the inquirer constructs a rich, detailed description of a central phenomenon' by 'build[ing] the essence of experience from participants' (64). This view resonates strongly with my view of how this study has been conducted, due to the richness of experiences and themes emerging from the data collected at DISS.

Music and music-making are researched within many disciplines - musicology, ethnomusicology, and the anthropology, psychology and sociology of music. My study aligns itself most closely with ethnomusicology and sociology of music, although it inevitably contains aspects of other disciplines. Those examining the architecture of classical music through analysis of its institutional structures have often employed an ethnomusicological or anthropological approach, concerned with the behaviours relating to the social and cultural production and reproduction of music. Notable examples, mentioned above, include Kingsbury (1988), Finnegan (1989), Born (1995), Nettl (1995), Cottrell (2004), and Baker (2014). The ethnomusicologist examines the structure, components and production of particular musics, and associated conceptual issues such as their cultural significance and role. Seeger (1992) advocated the centrality of the 'performance event' and the need to unpick the processes surrounding it. The wider context is also foregrounded: 'a localised musical event is also part of large economic, political and social processes that it may protest even as it reproduces them' (Seeger, 1992; 106). Participatory fieldwork is central to ethnomusicology; in order to understand those larger processes, the researcher spends an extended period living and making music alongside the culture under study. Participant observation and this learning process lead to an understanding of the musical language and behaviours of the research subjects. Traditionally, ethnomusicologists examined the music of 'others'; Kingsbury though termed his study

of Midwestern university schools of music 'ethnomusicology at home' - a process of applying the ethnographic eye to the music of his own culture and personal musical development. Stock and Chiener (2008) apply the same term to an exploration of the *nanguan* music of Taiwan and folk music in Yorkshire, which are central to their own lives as musicians. My study has common ground with these studies since I am examining classical music in a context both familiar and important to me.

My study also aligns itself with the sociology of music, which 'sensitizes us to the constitutive and relational, the conflictual and performative, thereby widening the focus of analysis beyond the musician and the cultural work in order to situate the latter in its proper social context' (Prior, 2008; 302). McCormick (2006) argues for a 'multidimensional framework' that allows us in our interpretations to 'meaningfully integrate text (the "music itself"), context (the contingent situation of music's production or consumption) and action (the situated act of performing and interpreting meaning)' (122). As McCormick highlights, what we call 'music' is ephemeral and amorphous, existing simultaneously in multiple forms – sonic production, social performance, and (in some cases) notated score. It is a process and not a product; 'something always becoming that never achieves full object status' (Roy & Dowd, 2010; 186).

Although much music exists in notated or recorded form, analysis of these artefacts as concrete transmitters of a determined meaning discounts the subjective experience of the performer or listener involved in 'musicking' (Small, 1998). The research focus must therefore be on what Born (2011; 377) refers to as the 'constellation of mediations' for music, comprising the sonic, social, corporeal, discursive, visual, technological and temporal, all of which contribute to what Green (1999; 161) terms 'the social organisation of musical practice', and its associated meaning (s). Any musical event is inextricably linked with its social milieu, and each setting implies different perceptions of the meaning of music, informs choices of medium, and imposes different contextual norms regarding musical behaviour. 'What comes to count as the musical "object" emerges in relation to how that object is handled by its recipients' (DeNora & Adorno, 2003; 48); so 'music' does not exist beyond a social context in which an individual perceives it as such (Roy & Dowd, 2010). The role of the sociologist of music therefore is to ask who is engaging in musical

behaviour, what meanings and belief systems are attached to this behaviour, when, and why this occurs.

DeNora (2003, 2004) traces the progression of the sociology of music from a structuralist focus concerned to analyse music through what it reveals about existing social structures, towards a concern with how music is socially shaped, produced and distributed. This includes the question of how the reciprocity of musical behaviour may reflect and reinforce social structures; equally these structures can be instigated and developed by behaviours relating to the production and reception of music. Willis' (1978) ethnographic study of hippies describes how their culture came to exert a significant influence on the music of the time, producing performers and informing the development of a particular style. Martin (1997) describes how socialisation gives individuals general expectations about music. This commonplace knowledge is then augmented by learning (both formal and informal) which leads to the creation of 'experts' with specialised knowledge who begin to perceive themselves as distinct from, and potentially in conflict with, other groups of 'musicians'. According to Martin, these struggles establish the parameters and constraints of the musical world; Willis (1978) also identifies that conflict between groups and society (or other groups within it) is fundamental to the confirmation of group identity.

As stated above, music mediates subject-object relations (Born, 2011); analysis of the resulting socio-musical practices forms the basis of the sociological approach. Born proposes four planes of social mediation: diverse social relations (within musical performances and ensembles), imagined communities (virtual communities and collectives deriving from identification with forms of music), wider social identity formations (in music's refraction of hierarchical and stratified relations of class, age, gender etc.), and the social and institutional forms that govern its production, reproduction and transformation. These planes can all be examined at DISS and will be explored throughout the study. Sociologists also question how groups within society engage in socio-musical practices; DeNora (2004) suggests that such analysis may be a tool for liberation, and it can certainly lead to fresh perspectives on many aspects of musical behaviour, beliefs and values. DISS is a melting pot of individuals who come together to form new groups, whilst bringing with them the expectations, aspirations and intentions of existing socio-musical groups, both actual and virtual. This reshuffling

of previous categorisations allows for reconsideration of musical identity and relationships, at an individual and (temporary) community level.

Maxwell (2013) prefers the term ‘conceptual framework’ to ‘theoretical framework’. His ‘interactive’ model of qualitative research design proposes an interdependent, iterative relationship between the research’s goals, conceptual framework (which he defines as concerned with theories, beliefs, prior research findings, literature, preliminary studies and personal experiences), selected methods, and the validity of the study - all informed and centred upon the research questions. In his framing, these elements are all linked flexibly – he uses the metaphor of a rubber band – and may take prominence at different points during the study. In terms of the conceptual framework specifically, Maxwell considers it as ‘something that is *constructed*, not found. It incorporates pieces that are borrowed from elsewhere, but the structure, the overall coherence, is something that you build, not something that exists ready-made.’ (Maxwell, 2013; 41). This flexible approach to the use of theory appeals to my perception of the most appropriate way to consider my research foci, and I have chosen therefore to incorporate a range of relevant theoretical viewpoints. Framed by theorisations of Utopia and Bakhtin’s conception of the carnivalesque (Bakhtin, 1968) and the dialogic imagination (Bakhtin, 1981), these include the anthropological and sociological perspectives discussed above, MacDonald, Miell and Hargreaves’ work on musical identities (MacDonald et al. 2002; Hargreaves et al. 2017), possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986), Lave and Wenger’s work on Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991), and Rawls’ theorisation of distributive justice (Love, 1999). I have also drawn on Salaman’s work in the sociology of work (Salaman, 1974), considerations of leisure (Löfgren, 1999; Roberts, 2011), and Freire’s work on democratic education (Freire, 1970).

Researcher positionality

My status as an insider in multiple ways at DISS places me firmly as an ‘insider researcher’.⁷ As identified by Chavez (2008), this approach has as many advantages as disadvantages and requires problematisation.

⁷ I originally attended as a student and then become a volunteer steward. In 2012 I was Chief Steward, a position which granted me access to all of the levels of organisation and residents at DISS.

The 'post-modern' or 'reflexive turn' in social science research recognises the researcher's inevitable subjectivity. Motivated by writers such as Hammersley (1992), theorists on social science research, particularly from the feminist school, have advocated open acknowledgement of the researcher's role. The 'insider' position has been recognised as an effective way of getting to know research participants, therefore prioritising their voice over the researcher's. Later trends in qualitative research place the 'co-creation' of knowledge at the heart of the process, acknowledging that researcher and participant - not 'subject' - are equally implicated in generating data from the field. Critical analysis of the relationship between researcher and research project has meant that insider research has frequently been undertaken by scholars representing marginalised groups, studying their own communities and social identity groups, or seeking to challenge hegemonic traditions of science, epistemology and ontology in academia (Kanuha, 2000), often with the intention of effecting change (Sikes & Potts, 2008). Insider research is often also motivated by personal experience, such as Van Heugten's (2004) study of social workers, and Breen's (2007) investigation of bereaved families following the death of her partner's sister.

Hodkinson (2005) argues that the insider or outsider status can never be absolute; rather, it is a continuum which alters according to circumstance (Smyth & Holian, 2008). As stated by Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2013; 251), 'whatever similarities of experience or community we share with our research participants we are also always "outsiders" – on grounds of class, age, sexuality'. Chavez (2008) considers that outsider and insider researchers face the same methodological issues of positionality, the researcher's sense of self, and the 'situated knowledge she/he possess as a result of her/his location in the social order' (474). To allow the possibility of true objectivity on the part of the researcher is fundamentally at odds with a social constructivist formulation of identity, for it would require the researcher to have a 'bounded and impenetrable sense of self' (Chavez, 2008; 474). Thomson and Gunter (2011) suggest that in the light of post-structuralist conceptions of the fluidity of identity and the malleability of social groupings as exemplified by Bauman (2004), the suggestion that an individual can entirely be 'inside' a group is a fallacy. The researcher's insider/outsider status is also affected by the ways in which research participants mutually position themselves and the researcher. As Chavez (2008) states, this can

change even during an interaction such as an interview; as the interviewee discovers more about their interlocutor, their perception of them as an insider or outsider may change and, accordingly, what they choose to reveal and how it is expressed.

The insider researcher must adopt a new positionality in relation to the research environment, whilst acknowledging the continuum of insider/outsider status. Hodkinson (2005), discussing research into the social and musical environment of 'goth' musicians and fans, talks about a transition from 'insider' to 'insider researcher', which allowed him to continue to engage with the object of his study – participating 'as an enthusiast as well as a researcher' (136). His approach allows the possibility that the researcher can maintain an ethnographer role whilst still engaging actively with the field that interested them in the first place, suggesting a compatibility between researcher and insider. Associated with this new positionality, insider researchers may experience a sense of responsibility towards the research institution or participants; Perryman (2011), in her discussion of conducting insider research in a school undergoing an Ofsted inspection, identifies how teachers had a tendency to forget her changed status and sought her advice as an 'expert'. Hill (2006) describes a similar situation in which he served as an unpaid substitute teacher throughout his study of a hip-hop centred literature course, identifying his reasons for doing so as derived from a need to 'give back' coupled with a sense that being a researcher was not a 'real' enough role within the school to connect to the networks which he wished to access. A further complication arises when, like many of the studies described above, the initial motivation to conduct the research comes from a deep personal connection to an institution, belief system or set of experiences. The researcher themselves is then heavily implicated in the process, finding that they are examining themselves as much as their subjects and blurring the boundaries with autoethnography. Wilkinson and Kitinger (2013) suggest four key ways of managing the 'insider' status: minimizing, utilizing, maximizing (e.g. studying only one's own experience), and incorporating (including the researcher as a participant and treating them as having same status as any other participant). The latter of these is the most challenging to attempt, requiring the researcher to interrogate and analyse themselves as an insider, not as a researcher. To some extent my study combined aspects of all these approaches; at different points during my fieldwork I positioned myself in each of the ways identified, whether consciously or subconsciously.

A significant challenge to my researcher positionality was presented by the fact that I usually attend DISS as a participating musician. 'Musicking' (Small, 1998) affects all who are present, and there is not always an obvious role for an observer, adding further challenge to participant observation. This is particularly significant in a situation where those present expect the researcher to join in the activities – 'why aren't you singing today?' was a question I frequently encountered. At times I felt profoundly alienated from the musical satisfaction and learning that I was witnessing, accustomed as I am to being fully immersed in this process. The social aspect of music-making and the close personal relationships developed through shared musicking can render it even more complex to research from the inside. The researcher's musical identity is usually central to their sense of who they are; to replace it with a researcher identity felt like a considerable sacrifice.

My long-term attendance meant that it was impossible to position myself fully outside social connections and friendship groups. Brewis (2014), quoting McConnell-Henry et al (2009-2010), identifies that interviewing people already known to the researcher saves time, as there is no need to establish a rapport and encourage them to open up; she also states that participants might be prone to discuss more sensitive matters than they would with a stranger. The sense of community at DISS, and my long-term attendance, engendered a sense of familiarity, and, in many cases, friendship. As so many of my friends have been made at DISS, I also inevitably ended up discussing my research with them during and after the fieldwork. This does not necessarily need to be seen as a hindrance to the research; Tillmann-Healy (2003) describes what she refers to as 'friendship as method', where friends are the subject of research studies, which occurs 'within the practices of friendship' (734). Traditional data gathering methods are subsidiary to the 'primary procedures [which] are those we use to build and sustain friendship: conversation, everyday involvement, compassion, giving, and vulnerability' (734), a method which offers 'a unique perspective on social life' (736). I came across Tillmann-Healy's work having completed my data collection, and was struck by how what I had experienced as difficulties were perceived by her to be a legitimate research method. It is important therefore to acknowledge the extent to which, although I had not planned to employ this method, elements of her approach inevitably permeated my fieldwork experience and the

subsequent data analysis, due to existing relationships with DISS residents and the friendships which evolved following individuals' participation in the study.

Case study

The case study is an appropriate instrument for this context, enabling consideration of the 'particularity and complexity' of a setting (Stake, 2005) by examining a bounded system and the functions of its constituent parts. The case study researcher seeks an in-depth understanding of a particular setting, through an exploration of how the actors in that situation perceive their reality. It is a constantly reflexive process, in which the researcher seeks to record objectively what is happening, whilst simultaneously seeking to examine the meaning of events and behaviours in order to refine future observations in an inductive process of data gathering (Stake, 2005; Chadderton & Torrance, 2011). The researcher aims not to record a single objective 'reality', but to present multiple realities as perceived by those on the 'inside' of the case. There is an assumption in this kind of research that these realities are created through social interactions; the best position for the researcher therefore is that of the participant observer.

Bounded case studies such as this one present challenges to the researcher, in that it is difficult to generalise the findings to other contexts. I have addressed this to some extent by situating the study firmly within the literature referring to the wider musical world, and by including data referring to musical contexts, experiences and behaviours beyond the specific locus of DISS. The implications for further research arising from this study will also illustrate how it has relevance beyond the particularity of DISS.

Prior to my fieldwork at DISS, I completed a pilot case study of a choir combining amateur and professional singers. This context had many similarities with DISS; I occupied an insider role as one of the choir's co-founders, it presents an opportunity for musicians from different pathways to participate in music-making together, and I was able to adapt a similar qualitative approach to researching it, although in this pilot study some quantitative instruments were also used, in the form of an online survey to past and current choir members. My findings from this study are

reported in Keene (2015) and were used to inform this study, in terms of the methods used and the identification of appropriate research foci.

Ethics statement

Ethical approval for this research was sought and obtained from the Institute of Education (now UCL) ethics committee. The project was deemed to be low risk in terms of potential harm to both research participants and DISS as an institution. It was not anticipated that the information gathered would present issues regarding sensitivity as defined under the Data Protection Act; if any such data had arisen, I would have excluded it from the study. Written consent to carry out the research was gained from the then Producer of Dartington International Summer School, in consultation with the then Artistic Director. The research will benefit DISS as an organisation by providing further information about residents' experience; research participants will benefit indirectly as this information may be used to inform future planning for the sustainability of DISS.

Voluntary informed consent was obtained as follows:

- Residents were informed at the beginning of each week that the research was taking place. They were made aware of their right to withdraw at any stage from being involved in the research. This was achieved with a poster (see Appendix 2) detailing the project and their right to withdraw, displayed on the central noticeboard, viewed daily by residents; I also introduced myself and the research at the opening concert of each week, which is attended by most residents.
- Residents were made aware that their right to withdraw would be upheld by my excluding data about them in my observations, and withdrawing myself from situations where participants who did not wish to be involved were present. There were no instances during my two phases of data collection where this was necessary.
- Tutors were informed beforehand via email that this research was taking place and given the option at this stage to indicate that they would prefer not to be

involved. At the start of sessions that I observed, I confirmed with the tutors that they were happy for me to be present.

- Questionnaires were not anonymous but the data gathered has been presented anonymously; a statement to this effect was on the questionnaire.
- Interview participants were asked to give verbal voluntary informed consent at the start of the interview.
- Verbal consent was also obtained from those participants completing research diaries.
- Interview transcripts were emailed to respondents for checking and comment; in a few cases, respondents asked me to remove or alter sections, which I did according to their requests.

Due to the nature of the DISS community, it is challenging to ensure complete anonymity as it may well be possible to identify individuals (particularly tutors, some of whom are internationally renowned) even if they are not named. Research findings have therefore been made available to participants prior to thesis submission, with interview respondents and diary writers being given the opportunity via email to provide feedback and contributions on sections where I had specifically cited their interview or diary data. The outcomes of this process are detailed in Appendix 1, but, in summary, out of a total of 69 respondents, eight were uncontactable for various reasons; of those who were contacted the majority did not wish to review the data, and when the data was reviewed there were no requests to make any changes. A complete draft of the thesis was also made available to a member of the DISS Foundation board prior to submission, who was satisfied that the findings did not pose any risk of harm to DISS as an organisation.

Data collection

Pre-pilot interviews (in May/June 2012) with three DISS residents already known to me were used to identify areas of research interest, explore the most appropriate interview approach, and develop the questions for the questionnaire distributed

during DISS 2012.⁸ Two phases of data collection in the field followed, in 2012 (Phase One) and 2013 (Phase Two).

Denzin and Lincoln (2013), amongst others, borrow from Lévi-Strauss to describe the 'qualitative-researcher-as-bricoleur', producing 'a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation' (8) or *bricolage*. Sitting broadly within ethnographic approaches, my data collection was informed by the participant observation method, with the inclusion of an initial questionnaire and solicited diaries. Field notes, interviews and observations were used, alongside the gathering of photographic evidence and other ephemera such as concert programmes and entries from social networking sites. I also chose during Phase One to participate as a musician in a singing class, a course in composition for school music teachers, drumming and mbira classes, and the chamber choir.

These data collection methods were selected to address my research foci as they offered diverse lenses through which to view questions of musical identities, roles, participation, and inclusion. The voice of a range of DISS residents was accessed through interviews and diaries, whilst my observations (both participant and non-participant) allowed me to document a snapshot of the musical teaching, learning and performance activities occurring at DISS. Questionnaires were used to obtain interview respondents, and to gain background data about their musical behaviours within and outside DISS. Field notes gave access to more unplanned and unexpected observations, conversations, and interactions, and were invaluable when considered alongside my other data sources; in many instances the same individuals or scenarios were found in multiple data sources, generating the 'thick' data which I required.

This approach had considerable advantages in presenting me with multiple ways of gathering information, but also presented challenges, arising from my status as an insider researcher and a climate of change at the organisational level of DISS, due mainly to questions over its sustainability with relation to changing circumstances within the wider Dartington Hall Trust. It was more difficult than anticipated to dissociate myself from the organisation, and due to certain structural challenges, I became more involved than intended in the practical organisation of DISS. Residents were concerned by the deterioration of accommodation and facilities, and felt that I

⁸ All three were women who had attended DISS over a period of several years, as volunteers, bursary students and performers.

was connected with the organisation and therefore would be able to address their anxieties. They were also concerned in some cases that I would 'report back' what they had said. In order to address these issues, in Phase Two I did not stay on site, but travelled in daily to carry out interviews and observations. This distance between myself and the respondents allowed me to focus on their individual experiences, and to some extent addressed their perception of myself as associated with the organisation of DISS.

Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes are central to ethnography, linking back to the work of Malinowski and the early anthropologists, and acting as the only reliable and systematic way of recording the 'messy' data comprised by informal and overheard exchanges and observations of day-to-day behaviour (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2011). During data collection, the act of making notes provides a daily reflection on the context. Drawing on early work in participant observation by Malinowski, Dewalt and Dewalt (2011) emphasise the iterative nature of field notes, where observations noted by the researcher are in constant dialogue with their previous and developing analysis of the situation. Silverman (2010), following Spradley (1979), concretises this iterative relationship, advocating a four-stage approach: brief notes made in the moment, extended notes made as soon as possible afterwards, a fieldwork journal to keep note of problems and ideas, and a provisional initial record of analysis and interpretation. Although I broadly followed this approach with a physical field notebook followed by transfer to a Word document, and then subsequently to data analysis software (MaxQDA)⁹, the challenge was often to keep these different strands separate. As a researcher immersed in the field it is challenging to switch off the analytical side of one's brain; as Dewalt and Dewalt (2011) state, 'field notes are simultaneously data and analysis' (159). There are many occasions where I recorded questions, analytical thoughts, or problems within my typed-up fieldnotes. While transferring the notes from Word documents to MaxQDA I separated these out and recorded them as memos linked to the text.

⁹ MaxQDA is a data analysis programme, developed in Germany in the 1980s. It offers the possibility of handling large quantities of text, pdf documents, images and audio recordings, and has numerous tools to support the coding and analysis process.

Interviews

Interviews in social research are usually categorised as structured, unstructured or semi-structured (Robson, 2011). Barbour and Shostak (2011) expand on these categories, proposing three strategies for information gathering: imposition, where the interviewer begins with a list of themes (structured or semi-structured interviewing), grounding, where the views and agenda of the interviewee dictate the course of the exchange (unstructured interviewing) and emergence, in which the interviewer provides a stage for the voices of the research subjects to emerge. Drawing on the 'grounding' strategy, I chose to use unstructured interviewing, following the pre-pilot interviews, where I found that more data-rich responses arose from unplanned lines of discussion. My research foci have also informed this decision; I wanted to find out about residents' perceptions of their experiences which could not necessarily be uncovered through direct questions, but through analysis of what people say and how they say it. Gillham (2005) suggests that one appropriate situation for selecting unstructured interviews is where the interest is in some dimension of an individual's life experience, and 'where the significant themes can only be elicited by allowing the individual to give their account in their own way, without the fragmentation of structured questioning which may lose the thread of the narrative.' (45).

Barbour and Schostak (2011) identify some considerations affecting the interview method, above all the problem of 'truth': how do interviewers overcome the barriers presented by factors such as power relations, trust, and the subjectivity of meaning, to arrive at an interpretation of interviewee statements that most accurately reflects what might be 'the real'? Gillham (2005) proposes that it is not so much this 'truth' that is important; rather, the account of the research interview should be 'a balanced account of the interview that took place' (7), acknowledging co-creation between interviewee and respondent which like any human interaction is contingent on circumstances and means of relating. This co-creation is described by Holstein and Gubrium (1995) as the 'active interview', in which researcher and interviewee are seen as equal participants in meaning-making; meaning is

actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter.

Respondents are not so much repositories of knowledge – treasuries of

information awaiting excavation – as they are constructors of knowledge in collaboration with interviewers.

Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; 4

Interviews are ‘occasions for narrative’ (28) in which respondents are presented as a storyteller, framing their accounts in response to the listener. In this perception of the interview, questions are not means to elicit information, but ‘framing devices that the respondent might follow in characterizing experience, interpretive incitements and themes for storytelling’ (29), whilst simultaneously pursuing his or her own story line. Conceiving interviews as active processes of story-telling (and to some extent story making) allows the researcher to consider not only what is said, but how it is presented and what aspects are missing. Van Heugten (2004) mentions the need to be aware of possible stereotypes that interviewees might be pursuing, either consciously or unconsciously; this might be with reference to themselves or to the interviewer, and may affect the data outcomes in terms of ‘expected’ responses.

During Phase One I adopted a purely unstructured approach; having analysed these interviews, I identified how to improve my interview technique in order to elicit the most data-rich responses. Although I continued with an unstructured approach, I did have a range of issues that I could ask respondents about if the conversation did not flow naturally; I also usually began interviews by asking respondents how their week at DISS had been going, in order to focus the start of the conversation.

Sampling

Sampling methods were dictated in the first instance by questions of access to residents. I initially asked DISS if I could contact all residents during the fieldwork period via email in order to recruit participants, but this was not possible due to institutional constraints concerning data usage. These constraints also meant that it was not possible to obtain a representative sample of, for example, residents on different pathways or of different ages – and in any case, the criteria for representation would have been complex and difficult to define in a robust manner. I decided therefore to use a questionnaire (see Appendix 3) to make contact with as broad a range as possible of potential interview respondents. The questionnaire was

compiled following pre-pilot interviews and was trialled, and subsequently modified, by emailing it to a group of regular DISS residents. During Phase One residents were informed about the questionnaire via the aforementioned participant information sheet. It was circulated each week by leaving uncompleted questionnaires next to a box for their return, on a table in the Great Hall vestibule – an area through which the vast majority of residents pass several times daily. Questionnaires were also distributed after some concerts, and were available in the Summer School Office. Some residents also approached me in person to ask for a questionnaire.

The questionnaire was used in the first instance to identify those interested in being interviewed; the contextual information that it provided was used to identify a range of different respondents and also to inform data analysis. I decided not to interview anyone involved with DISS administration at a higher level, including the current Artistic Director, as I wanted to focus on the residents' experiences. I also chose not to interview anyone who was already well known to me; conversations with some of them appear in my field notes and observations but are not included as discrete data. This decision was informed by a desire not to introduce bias into the data, since I felt that interviewees with whom I had a close personal relationship might feel that they needed to give responses which would benefit my research; furthermore, I felt that it would be difficult to consider data generated from interviews with friends on an equal basis with that collected from respondents who I did not already know. Potential respondents were contacted via telephone or email according to the details they had provided; in some cases, they were interviewed in Phase Two as due to the time constraints of their stay at DISS it was impossible to interview them that year. 43 of these individuals were emailed; 14 agreed to be interviewed.

In Phase Two a more purposive sampling method was adopted. This had two main reasons: obtaining a broader cross-section of participants including more aspiring professionals, current professionals and tutors, and addressing the constraints imposed by the usual attendance period of one week. In 2012 I was only able to interview four tutors, so I was particularly keen to gain access to this group. Interview times were arranged in advance, which allowed for interviews to be spread across the week; during Phase One most interviews happened at the end of each week, once the questionnaires had been returned and contact had been made with participants. Emails were also sent to tutors to request interviews. In this respect, I was constrained

by whether their contact details were available publicly, as for data protection reasons DISS was unable to release this information. This will have affected the sample to some extent, because those who have a public internet presence tended broadly to be either younger musicians closer to the start of their professional careers, or those in teaching positions at schools or conservatoires. The most renowned professional performers tended to protect their privacy, being only contactable through agents who were not always willing to pass on emails. Despite these issues I was still able to interview 18 tutors; it is important to acknowledge though that the inevitable bias in this sample. Further bias may have arisen due to the fact that tutors with a longer-standing connection to DISS may have been more willing to contribute to the research.

During both phases of data collection, some interview respondents presented themselves to me having heard about my research and offered to participate, and others were recommended to me by friends or those I had already interviewed. It is important to note here that the sampling strategy adopted will have had some inevitable impact on my findings. For example, I only interviewed people who decided to stay throughout the week for which they had booked to attend; accessing people who choose to leave due to negative experiences would have been problematic both practically and ethically.

69 respondents were interviewed over the two years of data collection; 36 in 2012 and 33 in 2013. For a detailed breakdown of the interviewees, see Appendix 1; this table details the age, musical pathway and longevity of attendance of the respondents, together with some information about the courses they were involved in and the means by which I selected them as interviewees.

Diaries

Solicited diaries were chosen to gain additional insight into the embodied and emotional 'everyday geographies' (Morrison, 2012; 68) of the participant experience, without the intermediary of myself as an interviewee; they offer 'the opportunity to muse in private' (Filep et al., 2015; 459). Often used in health research (Day & Thatcher, 2009; Kenten, 2010), solicited diaries give insight into how participants are experiencing and documenting events on a day to day basis, without the selective recall of retrospective accounts. They provide a way into understanding the meanings

ascribed by the diarist to these experiences and a 'personal insight into their own rationalization of actions' (Day & Thatcher, 2009; 250). They are a particularly powerful way of documenting the emotional life, providing 'the space for a multiplicity of emotions and lived experiences to be documented' (Morrison, 2012; 69). Filep et al.'s (2015) research using diaries with scientists in Antarctica draws on the work of what they term 'emotional geography' to explore the relationship between people and places, and this potentiality is particularly relevant at DISS, where the relationship between the people and the place is so important. Convenience sampling was used to obtain diary writers; I asked people that were already known to me or whom I had come into contact through some interviewing work I had been employed to do by DISS during a review of its provision, prior to completing my fieldwork. Seven diaries were completed in total; residents were supplied with a blank notebook, with some guidance inside the front cover (see Appendix 4). Some chose instead to record their diaries in digital form, and emailed me the document subsequently.

Inevitably, diarists' choices of what to include are influenced by their awareness of the research's aims (Morrison, 2012) and the picture of themselves that they wish to convey. The engagement with emotions may also be risky, if asking diarists to disclose personal feelings and reactions, but as Day and Thatcher (2009) note, there is a therapeutic quality to this documentation. Kenten (2010) argues strongly that solicited diaries should be supported as a form of data with an interview, and I had originally intended to follow this method; due though to the time constraints of DISS, I decided it would be not be possible. I was already asking much of the diarists' time to complete their diaries, a potential drawback of this method identified by Kenten (2010) and Day and Thatcher (2009), and decided that I did not wish to make further demands on their time by interviewing them.

Observations

Observations allow the ethnographic researcher to try to record the complexity of a situation. As with interviewing, subjectivity is inevitable, 'what is observed is ontologically determined' (Jones & Somekh, 2011; 131), and the observation record is a 'product of choices about what to observe and what to record'. The authors differentiate between a positivist, symbolic interactionist and ethnographic approach

to observation, stating that in the case of positivism, researchers aim to reduce observer bias and make accurate observations, whilst in an observation underpinned by symbolic interactionism the goal is to look for patterns of behaviour. Finally, in an ethnographic approach,

the process of observing will be highly participatory and the researcher will seek to observe in an open-ended way, screening nothing out and noting as many details as possible, guided by some overarching themes [...] through immersion, the researcher will become able to interpret the cultural meanings inherent in verbal and non-verbal behaviour.

Jones & Somekh, 2011; 132

My stance as an observer and insider researcher contains some blurred boundaries; although most of the observations I conducted were not 'highly participatory', in that I did not actually take part in the musical activities taking place, it could be argued that my long-term 'immersion' in DISS gives me an ability to interpret cultural meanings. However, as discussed above, my data collection necessitated a transition to some extent from insider to outsider, requiring me to look for the kinds of patterns noted by Jones and Somekh. I cannot argue that I was able to reduce researcher bias or make 'accurate' observations; I did not choose to use an observation schedule, since each situation which I observed was so different. Instead, I audio recorded classes which I observed, and also made my own notes on the situation, focussing particularly on the more visual aspects which would not be captured by the audio recording. In typing up the observations and transferring them to my data analysis software, audio recordings were used to add verbatim transcriptions of verbal exchanges to the observations of physical behaviours. My method was a combination therefore of unstructured and participant observation. Observations were 30 minutes long, unless I was participating in the class, in which case they lasted 90 minutes. 44 observations were completed, a full list of which is provided in Appendix 5. In Phase One I chose a broad range of classes and activities to observe, whilst in Phase Two I ensured that I observed classes delivered by tutors I was interviewing, alongside a sample of other activities.

Transcription

Interviews were transcribed according to Gillham (2005)'s recommendation that it is legitimate to omit speech hesitations of the 'um-er' variety and other repetitive interjections such as 'you know' and 'yeah' that add nothing to meaning.¹⁰ Where speakers were not speaking English as a first language, I have endeavoured to preserve their authentic voice in transcription and have therefore not corrected grammatical errors. Diaries were transcribed from the original hand-written documents, apart from in two cases where diary writers chose to complete them as MS Word documents. Field notes and observations were also transcribed from my hand-written originals, supported by audio recordings where necessary. In reporting the data, ellipses (...) are used to indicate omissions from the raw data for brevity or sense purposes.

Data analysis

There are as many approaches to qualitative data analysis as there are researchers. It is a subjective, personality driven process in some ways more akin to an art than a science; as Gibson and Brown (2009;1) state, 'there is something very nebulous about analysis which somehow seems to evade tight description'. Peshkin (2000) defines interpretation in qualitative enquiry as 'an act of imagination and logic' (9), informing all aspects of research from the questions and ideas framing and motivating the study, to the choices of what to look at and the selection of data to include.

There are many sources of guidance for the researcher wanting a structured approach to data analysis, one of the most significant being Grounded Theory as developed by Glazer and Strauss in 1967.¹¹ Their approach, and its later incarnations in the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990), and Charmaz (2006), has been hugely influential to qualitative researchers, and it is difficult to discuss qualitative data analysis without acknowledging its impact. My study, despite sharing characteristics of grounded theory in its iterative approach to coding and data analysis, cannot though be classified as 'grounded theory' in the same way that it cannot be described solely as 'ethnography'. In addressing this issue I turn again to Gibson and Brown (2009), whose balanced,

¹⁰ Some of these were initially included in transcriptions, but have been mostly excluded from citations of the questionnaire data for ease of reading and clarity of meaning, apart from where I felt that the speaker's hesitations were important to the interpretation of their words.

¹¹ For explorations of grounded theory from a range of perspectives, see Bryant & Charmaz (2007)

readable account of working with qualitative data, founded in their considerable experience as qualitative researchers, emphasises repeatedly that it is impossible to separate out the elements of project design, data analysis and researcher positionality, privileging instead the role of context in framing the relationships between research problems, approaches to social research and research data. 'Analysis is always *about* something or *of* something, and the *thing* that it is 'about' or 'of' is fundamental for understanding how that analysis works' (Gibson & Brown 2009; 4).

In approaching data coding, I have adopted a method that fits broadly into the category of 'thematic analysis', described by Gibson and Brown (2009) as 'the process of analysing data according to commonalities, relationships and differences across a data set' (127) by applying codes, which are 'simply a conceptual device for the description of commonalities in data' (131). Miles et al. (2014; 75 - 87), expanding Saldaña (2009), break the process down into two cycles. 'First cycle coding' is subdivided into 'elemental' methods – descriptive, In Vivo, and process coding - 'affective' methods, defined as emotion, values and evaluation coding, and 'procedural' methods, which addresses causation by linking codes to generate causal relationships. Having completed this 'first cycle' coding and reached saturation, it is suggested that the researcher continues to the second cycle of coding, in which pattern coding fulfils four functions; condensing data, focusing later fieldwork, helping to elaborate cognitive work, and cross-case analysis. They present four summarizers of pattern codes: categories and themes, causes and explanations, relationships among people, and theoretical constructs. Gibson and Brown (2009) define the process slightly more simply, working from an iterative, cyclical development and application of codes, with constant revisiting of previous data as new codes are developed, to relational analysis between codes by creating code families, developing hypotheses, considering causality, and looking for contradictions and inconsistencies.

Coding process

The first cycle of coding was completed using hard copies of transcribed data; initial factual and descriptive codes were recorded alongside the text, and an adjoining blank page was used to record memos and thoughts arising.¹² These initial codes were then

¹² See Appendix 6 for exemplars

grouped into code families, initially in hard copy; all data sources were then imported into MaxQDA and these code families and their associated codes were colour coded and applied to the data. This process was then revisited several times to come up with the final over-arching code families and sub-groups, which are shown in the table below:

Over-arching code family	Sub-groups
DISS	DISS past/present/future
	What it's like to attend DISS
	How things work at DISS
	Mythology and Utopianism
	DISS identity
Musical identity	Professional identity
	Music-making outside DISS
	Musical life story
'Music'	Musician
	Changes in musical landscape
	Musical lineages
	Musical elements and skills
	Genres
	Repertoire
	Instruments
	Musical standards
	Music-making
	Emotional responses
	Musical behaviours
	Status of music
Teaching and learning	Teaching outside DISS
	Teaching and learning at DISS
	Attitudes to learning
	Ways of learning
Performance	Experience of performing
	Performance conventions
	Audiences
	Performance at DISS
Amateurs and Professionals	Amateurs
	Amateurs/professional music-making
	Professionals
Factual codes	Named courses
	Named musicians
	Named composers
	Named instruments

Sub-groups were further broken down into more detailed themes; for example, the code 'music-making' was separated into: solo playing and group music-making, which was further separated into: group composition, social aspect, musical aspects, roles in the group, collaboration, and group dynamics. This iterative process of code development and application was then used to address the research foci.

Data reporting

Data sources have been reported in the text as follows. Citations from interviews are followed by the respondent's pseudonym, together with their delineation as explained above. Citations from a formal observation are followed by the name of the class or activity observed and the date. Data from diaries is indicated by the pseudonym of the diary writer followed by 'DD' to indicate 'diary data'. Data from my field notes is indicated by the initials FN followed by the date. In the case of interviews and observations, these can be cross-referenced with the Appendices to gain further information about the interviewees and activities observed. Respondents have been anonymised and are referred to by pseudonyms throughout; where names were used or reference made to tutors or performers present during the fieldwork in data sources, they have been replaced by an initial. References to renowned musicians attending DISS on previous occasions have not been anonymised.

A note on terminology

As mentioned, the DISS community combines established and aspiring professional musicians, those involved in music education, and those who self-define as amateur musicians. Encapsulating this diversity with terminology is challenging, both because the terms 'amateur' and 'professional' are in themselves contested and fluid, and because musical identity is similarly mutable; many DISS residents inhabit diverse musical roles over their lifetimes and period of attendance. Nevertheless, in order to provide the reader with a sense of the individual respondents' musical pathways and their role while at DISS, it was necessary to choose a simplified form of definition.

'Resident' is used to refer to all those on site who are not part of the DISS administrative team. 'Tutor' refers to somebody whose primary purpose in attending DISS is to teach; tutors also give many of the performances and are paid a fee to

attend. 'Accompanists' are also paid to attend DISS; their role is to accompany vocal and instrumental classes and performances, and in some cases to act as tutors as well. 'Bursary student' refers to a resident who has received financial support to attend DISS; in the majority of cases, bursary students are music students, aspiring professionals or those who have recently begun a career in professional music. 'Orchestra member' refers to a member of the Dartington Festival Orchestra, an invited ensemble which comes together to provide a training orchestra for conducting students and accompany performances. 'Houseparent' refers to a volunteer with pastoral responsibilities, and 'Performer' to someone who is attending DISS to perform only. I have divided the remaining residents by age; I have selected this method because residents at DISS are often described in terms of their age, an issue which will be explored in more detail in the subsequent chapters. The table in Appendix 1 indicates the age bracket of each respondent; I have delineated those over the age of 40 as 'older residents', those between 18 and 40 as 'younger residents' and those under the age of 18 as 'teenage residents'.

Chapter 3: The Dartington Experiment, Dartington International Summer School, and attending DISS today

I begin this chapter with a return to the historical context for DISS, examining the 'English Experiment' in more detail, before considering the founding and early days of DISS. I then move to a discussion of the experience of attending DISS today.

The Dartington Experiment

The 'English Experiment' at Dartington placed the people in the community at the heart of its Utopian vision. The Elmhursts aimed to provide 'a unity of life' (Bonham-Carter & Curry, 1970; 107) combining the economic means to give time for leisure activities with the provision of the amenities for those pursuits, a philosophy which explains 'the apparent incompatibility of [...] farming and ballet dancing or saw-milling and cricket' (ibid, 107). Access to music, dance, drama and the visual arts for everyone on the estate from school pupils to agricultural workers was essential. Rosalind, who attended DISS during the Elmhursts' day, described the estate:

It was a whole philosophy and way of life, the whole of the estate was focussed on creativity and skills, particularly workshop type skills, there were different bits around all over the site where there were different kinds of art form happening, whether it was weaving ... or art work - it was just a really creative and very rich place [and] people living on the site were practising their own particular art skills.

Rosalind, older resident

Despite Rosalind's reference to local people 'practising their own art skills', Richards (2015) notes the Elmhursts' failure to take into account the existing local arts and culture scene, ranging from growing flowers for agricultural shows to folk music in local pubs. In his view, this demonstrates a prejudice towards 'the bourgeois arts as high culture, and a lack of interest in popular dimensions' (52).

Formal arts activities on the estate commenced with a Drama Club, founded by the Dartington Hall School secretary but later assisted by a professional actor and

producer (Young, 1982). Their successful and profitable productions reinforced the Elmhursts' conviction regarding the value of the arts, but also revealed to them 'the need for professionals' – 'amateurs could do work of reasonable standard if [...] they had professionals to help them' (Young, 1982; 220). This statement, together with Richards' views, identifies dichotomies at the heart of the Arts at Dartington and later at DISS. Tensions emerge between high and popular culture, participation and outcome, process and product, unskilled amateur and professional helper. These tensions are not unique to Dartington, as identified by Camlin (2014; 101) who discusses the question of 'how to achieve both artistic excellence (Great Art) and universal access (Everyone)'.

In Dartington's pre-war years, this attempt to introduce professionalism manifested as invitations to practitioners of diverse art forms to take up residence. These included the dancer Margaret Barr, who established both a professional dance troupe and classes for Dartington Hall School pupils and local residents. The current political climate was manifested as the artistic community was joined in 1934 by the Jooss-Leeder School of Dance, fleeing Nazi persecution, and later by another political refugee, Michael Chekhov, with his School of Theatre. They were given no clear function or terms of engagement beyond an expectation that they would assist in the education of the school's pupils and advance the estate's cultural life, whilst continuing to develop their own work (Cox, 2005). The lack of clarity regarding the purpose of the artistic community engendered an unsustainable and expensive (albeit extremely creative) situation which required an injection of administrative direction. This arrived in 1934 with the appointment by the Trustees of Christopher Martin as the Arts Administrator, probably the first appointment of the kind in England. 'Utopia was acquiring a bureaucracy' (Nicholas, 2007; 82), which necessitated a shift in power from the Elmhursts to their employees, and marked the start of an uneasy relationship between their individual vision and the attempts to rationalise their idealism through a series of committees and trusts which continue to challenge the administration of Dartington today.

Martin's appointment represented the first attempt to impose a clear overall mission for the artistic provision at Dartington. He issued a report which asked:

Is the Arts Department to be primarily a professional undertaking, having amateur work with the Estate as an offshoot of its professional activities, or is the Department to be primarily amateur and dilettante with professionalism only as a chance consideration? By professionalism is meant not commercialism nor, necessarily, orthodoxy, but a whole-hearted striving for results worthy to stand with the best.

Bonham-Carter, 1970; 130

Martin presents a view of the amateur and professional as fundamentally different in terms of outcomes and standards. Margaret Barr, writing in 1931, highlights the difference between the professional 'careerist' and the amateur community artist:

Standards? Something more than those of the careerist. In the abstract realm, each idea sets its own standards – born of the community itself not projected in from the outside.

Barr, 1931, cited in Nicholas, 2007; 59

Nicholas uses Barr's dance performances to highlight how this difference presented a challenge regarding differing expected outcomes and motivations:

For the amateurs on the Estate and outside it, dance was offered as a leisure activity and an educational and social engagement, with a heightened sense of community as a hoped-for outcome. But a tension arose between these objectives and the expectation that amateurs would be put on show in a substantial public performance programme. [...] This performance culture blurred the distinction between amateur and professional.

Nicholas, 2007; 71

Barr's vision of community participation was replaced by the cutting-edge creativity of the Jooss-Leeder School, where dancing lessons for local residents had little place, ushering in an era at Dartington which prioritised artistic product and training of future dance and theatre professionals. This activity centred around the medieval courtyard of the hall, inhabited by an eclectic mix of performers and acting as

a hub for creative and political debate. This was, as Nicholas states, a space where the amateur was entertained and not included:

The professionals arranged amateur activities [...] the Estate was welcomed to the Courtyard but the Courtyard did not go out to the Estate and beyond [...] A split between Estate and Courtyard remained.

Nicholas, 2007; 99

Despite the Elmhirsts' desire to restructure the estate on a foundation of social justice, what happened in practice was to some extent a recreation of a feudal medieval court; as Young (1985) and Nicholas (2007) observe, this was reinforced by the hierarchical staffing structure of the Hall, which included traditional roles such as butler and housekeeper.

Elmhirst Dartington was about patronage. It was about its ability, its assumed right, to impose its will, to govern, uninvited and non-democratically, all who came under its influence. Its unconventional mix of neo-feudalism, a colonial mentality, and modernist progressivism was part of Dartington legend [...] yet within its framework a humanitarian experiment took place, a Utopian vision was briefly realised, a communitarian project enacted, although under hierarchic conditions.

Richards, 2015; 52

This hierarchy was observed by Imogen Holst, who began a long association with Dartington with a visit in 1938 to advise on community singing; during a concert, she noticed the butler outside, listening through the keyhole. This was far from her view of how the arts should be; her commitment to amateur music-making was fostered by her father Gustav's teaching at Morley College and her inclusive vision heralded a new era for the amateur arts at Dartington.¹³ In 1942, after three years travelling as an educator for rural music teachers with the Council for the

¹³ A London adult education college, opened in 1889 with a particular focus on music education.

Encouragement of Music and the Arts, she came to Dartington to assist with the Arts Enquiry report into music.¹⁴ She eventually stayed for eight years, and she and Martin devised a scheme whereby Dartington would provide students with the training to be Rural Music Teachers - the early stages of DCA.

Nicholas (2007; 143) describes Holst as 'the benchmark at Dartington, both of professional standards and of promotion of a strong amateur culture'. Cox describes the perspective upon the amateur/professional relationship exemplified by Holst:

[Holst] saw that musical training could take place only where there was musical life [...] [and] a meaningful relationship between the function of training specialists and that of developing a community's cultural life [...] She saw the need for stimulation and the setting of standards and brought to Dartington Benjamin Britten, Peter Pears, Michael Tippett and others who were then far from being generally accepted and who came down not only to perform and to play and talk with students. This belief, that even the beginner should hear and meet the finest musicians, became an essential part of [DCA's] philosophy.

Cox, 1977; 137

This perspective differs from the tension identified earlier regarding the difference in standards between the amateur and the professional; here the difference in musical output is seen as a strength of the mixing of the two both musically and socially – and therein may lie the roots of DISS as it is today. Imogen Holst's pedagogical approach is identified by Richards as

utterly consistent with Elmhirst Dartington. It emphasised direct, personal experience, and a sense of living involvement with all artistic languages, not just music. Although not neglecting the teaching and learning of technique, her calling was to engender enthusiasm and passion first. She did so by creating direct, participatory musical experiences.

Richards, 2015; 65

¹⁴ Part of a four-part survey into the artistic life of Britain, encompassing Visual Arts, Factual Film, Music and the Theatre (the latter was never completed) produced by the Trustees of Dartington in association with the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey.

Although much of her involvement at Dartington pre-dates DISS, this philosophy of music and music education resounds profoundly with its intentions, and the influence of Imogen Holst upon DISS can be seen throughout its history. Imogen gave composition classes which were open to all comers, ran a choir and an orchestra open to anyone on and around the estate, and invited prominent musicians such as Benjamin Britten and Alfred Deller to give recitals. She encouraged the singing and composition of rounds to mark any occasion, leading to a collection of ‘Dartington rounds’ (Richards, 2015). One of her schemes was the ‘rural orchestra’ where everyone played an instrument that they did not know how to play. Another was a performance of J.S. Bach’s B Minor Mass, which notably was rehearsed from 1947 – 1950; so even a champion of inclusive music-making such as Imogen Holst had high expectations of those involved in performing Bach.¹⁵

Dartington College of Arts

Imogen Holst’s training of rural music educators evolved in 1961 into a teacher training programme, and then DCA, which awarded its first BA in Music in 1974.¹⁶ Over its 50-year history at Dartington, DCA became a significant player on the Higher Education arts scene, with alumni characterised by their innovative approaches to making art in all forms. Defining features included a pedagogical approach founded on ‘learning by doing’ (Richards, 2015), focus on non-Western music, and commitment to innovation and a non-‘conservatoire’ model of teaching. The early teacher-training programmes believed, progressively for the time, in the development of the ‘artist-teacher [...] to give the student time and opportunity to explore his art’ (Cox, 1977; 142). DCA was also open-minded in its approach to art forms, promoting interdisciplinary work between music, theatre and the visual arts. Resonating throughout the college too was a commitment to the ‘notion that learning and the rest of life should not be sharply divided’ (Richards, 2015; 56), exemplified by courses such as Theatre in the Community, and Music in Society, and a focus on making art in context, often in response to the estate’s physical surroundings.

¹⁵ Bach’s Mass in B Minor is a significant and challenging work in the choral canon.

¹⁶ There is not space in the context of this thesis for a detailed history of DCA; more information can be found in Cox (2002, 2005); Dobbs (1984); Murray & Hall (2011); Richards (2015); and Ross (2009).

DCA and Dartington Hall School functioned separately from DISS, although there was inevitable cross-fertilization between the different organisations on the estate. An early advertisement for the 'Dartington Music School' foregrounds its relationship with the summer school:

Dartington Music School

Under the auspices of the Dartington Hall Arts Centre

Warden: Peter Cox

The Dartington Music School offers a full-time general musical education, with individual tuition in voice and instruments. It is unique in being residential and is thus able to offer exceptional facilities for chamber music, ensemble playing and choral singing which, together with sound aural training, form an integral part of the curriculum for all students.

The School has on its staff well-known performers and teachers and is closely associated with the Summer School of Music under the direction of William Glock.

In being part of the Dartington Hall Arts Centre, the Music School can offer young people leaving school a good all-round musical education, with opportunities for continuing their studies in art, drama, literature and movement. Those who wish to specialise in teaching can get practical experience in local schools and those who intend to be performers have special opportunities for public appearance on the concert platform and in the Barn Theatre.

The Music School does not at present award its own diploma, but it enables students to work for the external diplomas of the Royal Schools of Music whereby they can become qualified teachers. The School is approved by the Ministry of Education for the purposes of grant-aid and it provides the one-year Supplementary Course.

Scholarships are awarded each year and competed for in May.

Prospectus from the Secretary, Dartington Hall Arts Centre, Totnes, S. Devon

Figure 1: Advertisement from the Musical Times, 1956

DCA's most significant feature with regard to both DISS and the Utopian visions outlined above is what Richards (2015; 57) refers to as the 'Dartington ethos':

Dartington's printed or official literature gives no real clue about the nature of the Dartington ethos [...] It habitually mythologises, but offers little in the way of precision [...] Dartington's coyness about defining itself was part of its

stance. From the Elmhursts onwards, it relished the idea of being slippery, fuzzy, and proudly, obtusely so.

Richards, 2015; 460

This ethos is often referred to as the 'Dartington spirit', an idea which will resurface throughout this study but is described here by Joe, former DCA student, and Lucy:

Those two years at the college gave me a Dartington spirit shall we say ... it opened my world to a lot of contemporary arts as well as music and from the late 80s I became totally immersed in contemporary music.

Joe, tutor

A spirit of absolute generosity and inclusion, inclusion of everybody who wants to make music. And that really is what music is about, it's not about excluding people from it because they're not of this standard or they haven't reached this grade, or they haven't done that, it's actually drawing everyone in together and proving to those people that it can be enjoyed by anybody at any level, perhaps not altogether at the same time but sometimes it can.

Lucy, tutor

Joe identifies the 'Dartington spirit' as openness to different and new art forms, whilst for Lucy it is concerned with inclusion. Richards characterises the 'Dartington ethos' as a prioritisation of process over product, a focus on teaching diverse art forms in close proximity by actively practising artists, governed under a 'benign dictatorship', concerned with the personal development and empowerment of students within a college small enough to be a community - 'both experimental and contained' (462).

DCA did not always fulfil its inclusive goals; Delia, a former pupil at Dartington Hall School, described an experience which demonstrates some of the divisions identified above between participation and maintenance of standards, and between an ideal of progressive inclusion and a reality that portrays music as something that excludes rather than includes:

I came up [to DCA] and saw that they were singing the Messiah and they said come along, and so I came up here and I joined the music college for God's sake, and I was 14 or something, and in one rehearsal the conductor rapped his baton on the music stand and pointed at me in the back row and said 'you there in the back row with the voice like an old drainpipe' and I just, I never opened my mouth again! I left and I never came back ... it was a different, different sort of attitude to music.

Delia, older resident

Richards describes DCA as a liminal space, a place of 'ritual transition', a 'retreat' with a 'particular relationship with Totnes and the surrounding area, imbued with 'an air of privilege' and a sense of ownership over the abundant physical and mental space, and with 'its own unique narrative: all who became part of it... assimilated the Dartington story' (Richards, 2015; 460 – 465). This 'Dartington story' is a narrative shared by the many people who have lived and worked on the estate, the institutions that found their home there, and, after 1953, the residents of DISS.

Dartington International Summer School

In 1947, the pianist and composer Artur Schnabel attended the first Edinburgh Festival and felt that it needed teaching to complement performance (Ratcliffe, 2001; Henderson, 1994), as at Tanglewood in the USA.¹⁷ Beginning in 1936 with a festival of concerts at the summer home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Tanglewood expanded in 1940 to include a summer school, described by Aaron Copland, composition tutor, as

a summer school under the aegis of a symphony orchestra [...] [a] tangible way for the older and more experienced musicians to pass on a lifetime of experience to the young aspirant. Here talented young musicians might gather to engage in all kinds of ensemble playing and singing. Their very presence was to act as a stimulus amongst themselves and also to their teachers [...] a

¹⁷ For clarification as to the identity of each musician mentioned here and henceforth, see Appendix 8.

division of the school was [also] to be set up for the musical enthusiast who wanted to spend a summer of “living and working in music.”

Copland, cited in Daniel, 2008; 21

Schnabel wished to establish a similar ‘holiday school where every sort of musician [...] could go’ (Warrack, 1950; 377). He discussed his idea with his friend Gwynn Jones who agreed to organise a summer school; Schnabel suggested a former pupil, the concert organiser and *Observer* music critic William Glock, to be its first Artistic Director, who invited the music critic and administrator John Amis to be the first Administrator. Glock wanted immediately to establish a principle of programming repertoire from the fourteenth century to the present day, and of inviting musicians from outside the United Kingdom to take part.

Schnabel himself taught at the first Summer School, held at Bryanston School in Dorset in 1948, as did many other renowned musicians: Nadia Boulanger, Paul Hindemith, George Enescu, and the Amadeus Quartet. Imogen Holst lectured on aspects of music such as melody and rhythm during which audience members, including Hindemith, played handbells of coins as makeshift percussion instruments (Amis, 1985). There were lectures on the Arts and on literature from speakers including E.M. Forster. There was a clear separation, as at Tanglewood, between activities for music students and those for the music-loving ‘audience’, whose participation was limited to singing in the choir or playing chamber music.

Early advertisements illustrate the aims of the summer school:



Figure 2: advertisement from the Musical Times, 1951; 243

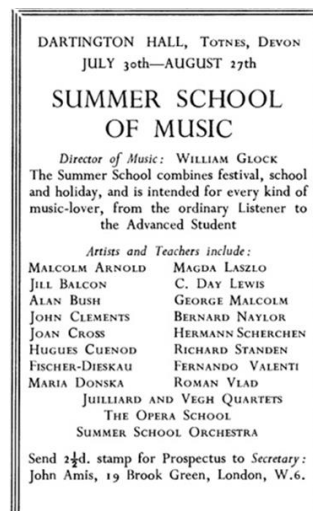


Figure 3: advertisement from Tempo, 1955; 36

Amis describes the purpose of the summer school in terms rooted firmly in its historical context:

...it was needed because in 1948 there were very few summer schools. There was nothing on our scale and not one producing a festival as well as teaching. There was nowhere in the country where students could attend a course held by a Hindemith or a Nadia Boulanger [...] It was necessary to provide somewhere for students to receive their further education, to show them there was something over their limited horizons, to give them a taste of teachers from abroad [...] We also realised that small composition or instrumental masterclasses would not pay their way, nor was it likely at the start that we could get sufficient good students. That was why we needed large numbers of audience to fill up the school. Some were just audience but others could join in at different levels. We soon provided for all sorts of levels of musical competence and incompetence.

Amis, 1985; 123

This statement sets up a dichotomy between the fee-paying amateur and the 'good student' – 'There were auditions for masterclasses, but otherwise cash would secure a place' (Amis, 1985; 123). Glock (1991) describes four groups of residents: students, young professionals, teachers and concert-goers. Although he refers to this as a 'fruitful symbiosis of professional and amateur' (Glock, 1991; 51), there is little space in this relationship for the amateur to make music; their role appears to be limited to that of the 'concert-goer'. The 'Music' section of the Arts Enquiry report (Dartington Hall Trustees, 1949) supports this attitude. Amateur music-making is described as 'the backbone of our national musical life' (98), but there is a distinct boundary between the amateur and the professional demarcated by status and musical process rather than quality of output:

The leading [amateur] choral societies set the standard for choral singing; and the playing of the brass band may be technically as competent in one field as that of the professional symphony orchestra in another. No amateur orchestra,

opera society or chamber-music ensemble can hope to reach the standard of its professional counterpart, yet each helps to keep the love of music alive.

Dartington Hall Trustees, 1949; 98

On the subject of chamber music, the report states that

Amateurs seldom perform publicly and are therefore spared the bother of arranging concerts [but] the moment the listener begins to play himself, his whole appreciation of music is quickened and enlarged, and, by comparing his own performances with those of professionals, he begins to share the artist's humility in his attitude towards his art.

Dartington Hall Trustees, 1949; 118

So both amateur and professional are presented as being in service of the art of music, but the amateur's intention for participation is to gain an increased understanding of the music, not to perform it publicly. The summer school as envisaged in its first form at Bryanston reflected these differing intentions for the amateur and the professional. By 1952 it had become apparent that the accommodation available at Bryanston was insufficient, and a new venue was required. Glock had taught and lectured at Dartington, and 'had at once fallen under the spell of its idyllic surroundings and history of fourteenth century courtyard and Banqueting Hall' (Glock, 1991; 57). After discussions with the Trustees, the summer school was relocated to Dartington in 1953.

Many aspects of the structure established at Bryanston continued, including the daily programme of lectures, concerts and masterclasses classes; the increased practice facilities allowed 'Summer School visitors [to] abandon their former role as full-time listeners and to devote themselves to the playing of chamber music' (Glock, 1991; 57). Teaching continued to be delivered through masterclasses for promising students who were expected to benefit from the opportunity to be in the presence of greatness, whilst audiences were 'moved and astonished by the transformations that took place' (Glock, 1991; 54). Glock identifies that from the outset the varied standards of residents was an issue, as was seeking out students of a high calibre to take part:

In the composers' classes, it was generally of a high standard, but in other cases variable, and in the vocal classes sometimes painfully bad [...] Part of the blame, it must be said, lay with the London colleges of music, which often showed little co-operation in the matter; and no doubt, too, with the reluctance of many teachers to submit their students to an acquaintance with far higher standards than their own. So with certain classes in particular (singing, string-playing) it was left to the Summer School to search out promising talent, and then to raise money for scholarships.

Glock, 1991; 62

Glock continued to promote the most contemporary of music and to invite musicians from overseas to participate. 'Glock's circus', as it was nicknamed, became one of the most exciting musical environments of the period, attracting a comprehensive list of the prominent musicians of the day. Too many musicians of note have attended DISS to list here; musicians referred to by interview participants include Igor Stravinsky, Luciano Berio, Yehudi Menuhin, Paul Tortelier, Daniel Barenboim, Janet Baker, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Alfred Brendel, Jacqueline du Pré, Chloe Hanslip and Katherine Tickell. The conductors Roger Norrington, Charles Mackerras, Simon Rattle, Mark Elder and Neville Marriner all attended; Benjamin Britten visited on several occasions. There has continued to be a focus on the teaching of composition, taught for many years by Peter Maxwell Davies - tutors also included Elliott Carter, Elizabeth Lutyens, Witold Lutoslawski, Harrison Birtwistle and David Bedford. There have been six artistic directors over the history of DISS.¹⁸ Glock, the first of these, took on the position of BBC Controller of Music in 1959 and Controller of the Proms in 1960, initiating a long and fruitful relationship between Dartington and the BBC; musicians would try out programmes for the Proms at DISS, and the BBC's music offices were sometimes affectionately nicknamed 'Dartington in the winter'. The conductor Neville Marriner, interviewed as part of the 2013 performance programme, also commented on the sense of innovation present from the outset:

¹⁸ Maxwell Davies took over from Glock as the Artistic Director of the Summer School in 1979, succeeded by Gavin Henderson in 1985, John Woolrich in 2010 and Nicholas Daniel for 2014 only; the Artistic Director since 2015 has been Joanna MacGregor.

‘I rather enjoyed the sort of frisson, I don’t know what it is ... real pleasure in shared excitement’. Talking about Glock’s link with the Proms – how he would invite major personalities – ‘we felt that Dartington was a great focus of interest’.

FN, 11.8.13

This commitment to new music continued under Maxwell Davies, as noted by Dylan, in a statement which also illustrates the wider community connected to DISS:

There are quite a lot of people that one sort of sees around the London music scene ... people like Robert Saxton and Judith Weir, all those sort of people were associated with Dartington and ... Max [Peter Maxwell Davies] would commission works by them for the Fires of London which we would premiere in the Queen Elizabeth Hall and it’s interesting to see all these young whippersnappers now in major chairs of composition in major universities or major festivals.

Dylan, tutor

Although conceived as a separate enterprise from the wider Dartington project described above, DISS and its residents have always felt the legacy of the idealistic artistic and political vision of the setting, and the associated significant individuals.

Yesterday’s talk about Imogen Holst was fascinating. Like her, when I walked down through the garden I thought about how beautiful the place is – it’s a real spiritual home for me too...

Stella, older resident, DD

This history of DISS and its significant people is reflected on by those who attended during the Elmhursts’ lifetime. They acted as generous hosts and patrons; their quarters in the Hall had a private door leading directly on to the Great Hall’s stage, home to the evening concerts, and performances would not start until they had made their way across the stage to take their seats. This was described by Rosalind, in an evocation

which illustrates the echoes of feudal patronage in the Elmhirsts' relationship to the Arts described above:

They used to come through into the concerts in the evenings, they'd come through the private door on the left from the private wing, and no concert would start until they'd come in with their party, whoever they'd brought ... So then they'd have their own seat where they'd always come every night and they were a very very gracious couple.

Rosalind, older resident

A central aspect of DISS from the outset was the coming-together of musicians socially:

The opportunity for young and old, unknown and celebrated, to meet constantly and learn from each other in intense discussion. There was also an aura everywhere at Dartington of day-long, week-long, fortnight-long devotion to music that was uplifting.

Glock, 1991; 77

Such a musical idyll seems to echo the Utopia desired by the Elmhirsts; however, it raises questions about how *everyone* can experience this environment as 'uplifting'. The strict division into amateur and professional participants which was enforced in the early days has broken down over time, but the tension between musical engagement for all and standards of performance identified by Christopher Martin in 1934 still lies behind DISS' activities today. It is in the residents' encounters with this dilemma, and the subsequent impact upon themselves as musicians, that much of the interest of DISS lies.

Attending DISS today: stories of a summer community

It sort of creates a kind of community I suppose, which obviously isn't exactly the same every year – but it does have a lovely thread running through it.

Jane, tutor

A temporary, cyclical group of residents assembles at DISS, dispersing during the year but maintaining a spider-web of links to the place, to the people encountered there, and to the music performed. It may appear to resist definition as a 'community', but as Higgins states:

Any definition of the term 'community' remains elusive. Expressions of community vary, but one of the strongest manifestations is that of the romantic echoes of loss and recovery. These sentiments have propelled a Utopian vision of community as a radical alternative to the prevailing order, reflecting the modern release of the individual from the traditional ties of class, religion, and kinship.

Higgins, 2007; 282

The DISS community therefore functions on two levels; as a time-bound conglomeration of people, place and music, and as a 'Utopian vision', expressed by the perceptions of long-term residents, entrenched in its mythology and in dialogue with the history and ideals of the Dartington project. According to Murray and Lamont (2012), an identifying feature of community are the 'common assumptions, which provide coherence to a community and distinguishes it from another' (77); the diverse membership of the DISS community challenges the possibility of 'common assumptions', a problem reinforced by the lack of clarity of identity and purpose which have characterised the Dartington project from the outset. Murray and Lamont also discuss shared narrative as another important aspect of community, defining it as

the shared story held by members of a community. It defines the community's history and how it is distinguished from neighbouring communities. As such narrative provides a temporal and historical dimension to social representations, it is not only concerned about past events but can also be concerned about future possibilities. The narrative can thus become an organising framework to facilitate social change.

Murray & Lamont, 2012; 77

This idea of community narrative chimes with the discussion of DISS and its historical context, containing the capacity for dialogue between the past and present.

Narrative's potential to facilitate social change also opens up possibilities, maybe not on a macro scale, but on the micro level of individual experiences of change and discovery at DISS. There is an extent to which the narrative surrounding DISS preserves it in the past and limits it to a mythologised conception, but the community narrative may also reveal the possibilities of a different future, at least on an individual if not a collective basis.

Postcards from an endless garden

The Elmhursts' 'endless garden' at Dartington provides a setting which contributes to and informs every aspect of DISS, rooting it firmly in its history.

I can't imagine it being quite the same if it were at another venue, it wouldn't have the atmosphere really, the historic buildings and that amazing hall.

Rhona, tutor

The link between how you are in yourself, the old buildings and the wonderful grounds.

Comment from resident, FN 22.7.12

These statements encapsulate significant aspects of DISS: the 'atmosphere', the physical surroundings and the connection between music, location and individual experience. The isolated location creates a 'liminal' space, distant from everyday life:

It's like a little bubble isn't it, you come here, and there's never any phone reception ... I've been so busy this week that I haven't left the site ... I haven't seen anyone else, and I guess that's the same for everybody.

Jane, tutor

The Dartington 'bubble' to which Jane refers is a pervasive idea; although there are few actual references in the data to the term, it is familiar to me from long attendance at DISS. Enclosure in this bubble provides insulation from the real world represented

by the ringing of a mobile phone, traffic noise or shops; the fact that the stars appear brighter seems to contribute to the magical nature of the location, and the regular sound of the whistle from the heritage steam train running alongside the grounds adds to the sense that it is a place out of time. As one man, whose association with Dartington traces through DCA and DISS, commented, 'This is such a beautiful place, you can make it unreal' (FN, 8.8.12). Attending DISS is often referred to as 'coming down', which brings with it a change of behaviour and attitude which Ethan referred to as 'a just being down here thing'. (Ethan, orchestra member).

The estate's gardens are frequently referred to by respondents, who admire their beauty and enjoy walking through them at all times of day and night to access accommodation and rehearsal studios. This forms an important part of the daily routine and a space for restorative contemplation. They also offer a locus for outdoor music-making and a stimulus for creativity:

The most magical thing has been singing madrigals on the terrace with two gardeners as our audience, gardening away.

Medieval music, 24.7.12

[The song-writing tutor] got us to walk around the grounds ... and we had an hour or so, an hour and a half over lunch, to basically walk around and just write words, the first thing that comes to our minds.

Daphne, younger resident

Jamieson (2004), explores the relationship between the city of Edinburgh's year-round identity and its change during the summer months when it 'self-consciously adopts the identity of "The Festival City"' (65), undergoing what Waterman (1998a) refers to as a transformation of 'landscape and place from being everyday settings into temporary environments – albeit with permanent identities – created by and for specific groups of people' (55). Jamieson contends that what may appear to be 'spontaneous play' (65) on the part of the festivalgoers who flood the city and the promoters who cover it in flyers is actually carefully managed and controlled by stakeholders who benefit financially from the conception of the city as a site of playfulness and liminality, benefitting from what Waterman (1998a) considers to be an

occasion for 'outsiders (sponsors, subsidizers) to endeavour to force or lead the group towards an acceptable course for the continuity of its culture' (55). This contrast between seeming freedom and hidden management parallels DISS's presentation of itself through publicity photographs. Brightly coloured images of deckchairs on the lawn, young people making music, and instrumentalists at large in the grounds of Dartington Hall are used annually in publicity materials displayed around the site, presenting a view of bucolic summer music-making against a background of blue skies and sunshine and promoting DISS as a site for summer freedom and leisured enjoyment of music and beautiful surroundings. During my fieldwork, I took many photographs which (consciously or unconsciously) echoed this image; despite considerable wet weather, I realised that I had taken photographs, like this one, only on the sunny days.



Figure 4: Deckchair in the garden, 13.8.12

These images mirror the holiday postcards referred to by Löfgren (1999; 81) as 'a powerful medium for organizing and presenting ideas about vacation preferences, tastes, and attractions'. The selection of images both by postcard manufacturers and those who send them communicates the desired portrayal of the holiday location,

something which is echoed both in DISS publicity material and its representation on social media; as Löfgren identifies, images frame the narrative of being of holiday.

Summer as a framing context for DISS is 'a Utopia shaped by several kinds of longings [...] the nostalgia for paradise lost, the idea of a golden age, when summer life was simple and affordable, and families took long vacations' (Löfgren, 1999; 148). The summer season has nostalgic associations of freedom, childhood and play. Its discourse evokes escapism, potential, and endlessly sunny days, signifying freedom from everyday routines – 'clocktime becomes less important' (Löfgren, 1999; 135) and the potential for romance and passion fuelled by the hot weather. All these aspects of summer – escapism, creation of a temporary Utopia, freedom from the usual social norms – chime with Bakhtin's (1968) conception of the 'carnavalesque'. Originally coined to describe medieval festivals, the concept has been used to analyse events, music, and dance cultures (Halnon, 2004; Anderton, 2009; Matheson & Tinsley, 2014). It is a subversion of the natural order of society, a 'second life' (Bakhtin, 1968) characterized by the suspension of rules, parading of mock figures of authority, overturning of hierarchies, and loss of inhibitions amidst grotesque physical humour and immorality (Morris, 1994; Borsay, 2006; Matheson & Tinsley, 2014). The distant location and residential status of DISS contribute to the carnivalesque by enabling behaviours which contradict residents' usual professed moral code. A favourite phrase is 'what happens on the hill stays on the hill', and there is a sense of freedom underpinning social and musical experiences:

It was this very relaxed space - like a place to grow up safely, outside of – so quite a lot of it was like falling in love, or like fancying the pants off people, because music's really sexy, and ... there's a real feeling of it being a hothouse, a bit of a kind of emotional and sexual hothouse basically, so without wanting to be too explicit about what I got up to, definitely the fact that there were people here I fancied definitely played a really big part in it – I just remember that sense of this is a place where I can, because music is the lynchpin of it which has no demographic, this is a place where I can meet people of all genders, nationalities, sexualities, ages, across the spread.

Sally, performer

Significantly, though, these changes remain with the ‘carnival’ period, and Blackshaw (2010) suggests that the challenges presented to the natural order do not continue. The alternative society offered temporarily by the carnivalesque may therefore serve to highlight existing divisions; Gardiner (1993) correlates this with Utopianism, proposing that the carnivalesque allows a re-consideration of the idealized society presented by visions of Utopia. Utopia becomes in this conception a ‘manifestation of pervasive social and ideological conflicts with respect to the desired trajectory of social change’. (Gardiner, 1993; 22) as opposed to an idealised society. The ‘emotional hothouse’ described by Sally has a similarly impermanent flavour; although her perception of music as without demographic can be extended to other contexts, there is something about her description which implies transience and the need to be in that particular place to experience this freedom from constraints of age, nationality or sexual orientation.

Sally’s association between place and possibilities is reflected in the residential experience of DISS with its resonances of the summer holiday cottage - transient spaces which become invested with meaning, ‘mobile dream spaces, because for most of the year they are inhabited only by longings and memories’ (Löfgren, 1999; 137). Second home characteristics are also afforded to DISS because of its continued presence in the lives of many long-term residents; several interviewees had visited DISS every year (in some cases without interruption) for periods of up to 50 years. This grants DISS and its physical home an extremely unusual status in their lives; it is rare to continue a summer holiday activity from childhood through to later life. Holiday cottages also remain unchanged, characterised by an aesthetic of ‘continuity and stability [...]The past is thus constantly present in the materials and routines of summer’ (Löfgren, 1999; 139). For DISS residents, disturbances to the continuity described above may become threatening, as demonstrated by attitudes to change:

Walk across to Aller Park [practice and rehearsal studios] – why can’t we walk across the field anymore? So many happy memories of doing so. Feels as if they have all been cut off. Guess I don’t like change.

Alan, older resident, DD

Again, this resonates with the impermanent quality of Utopianism and the carnivalesque as identified by Gardiner (1993); Alan's lack of control over his surroundings and the frustrated expectation that everything will be the same indicates that 'happy memories' may not last – and that change is inevitable with the passing of time.

Summer learning

Alongside its carnivalesque, Utopian quality, summer also frames sites of learning and performance such as children's summer camps and music and arts festivals. DISS shares several characteristics with summer camps as described in the literature (Brandt, 1988; Cohen, 1993; Waterman, 1998b; Sales & Saxe, 2003; Seeger & Seeger, 2006; Diaz & Silveira, 2013; Nemser, 2014; Zelensky, 2014): closeness with nature, basic living conditions, isolation from technology and the 'real world', initiation into (or exclusion from) a community by more experienced peers, skill development, and new friendships and relationships. Themes emerging from research concerning summer festivals (Waterman, 1998a; Quinn, 2003; Jamieson, 2004; Williams & Bowdin, 2007; Bentley, 2009; Wilks, 2011; Matheson & Tinsley, 2014) which are particularly pertinent to DISS and form a comparison to summer camps are: the festival as a temporary site of new identity, whether individual, collective or place-related; the creation and promotion of community during and after festivals; the festival as a site for music teaching and learning; the stated and tacit role played by festival organisers in the presentation of artistic value; play and the carnivalesque; and the mythmaking potentiality of the festival.

The association between summer and learning reflects aspects of the North American summer camp, an 'indigenous rite of passage' Cohen (1993; 10), historically holding a social change function (Seeger & Seeger, 2006), serving to preserve cultures and national identities (Joselit & Mittleman, 1993; Sales & Saxe, 2003; Zelensky, 2014), and promoting expertise and skill development (Cohen, 1993). Lucy ascribes similar characteristics to DISS:

For a vast number of Dartington regulars it's their summer of growth and joy and wonderful music making and more depth of understanding.

Lucy, tutor

Camp locations are rural, characterised by ‘barriers [...] against the outside world’ (Sales & Saxe, 2003; 47), such as limited exposure to technology. This isolation extends to the ritualized behaviours surrounding camps, described by Joselit (1993) as a site for a nostalgic, Utopian community, ‘an “imagined community” made real’ (26) and perpetuated by the continuity created by staff who often begin as campers themselves (Sales & Saxe, 2003). Nemser’s (2014) study of a children’s music summer camp characterizes it as a community of practice, where a combination of musical growth and learning with development of social skills through an immersive experience with other campers pursuing a similar interest allows for multidimensional growth and an ‘accelerated rate of musical progress’ (56), facilitated in part by the opportunity to play with musicians of a higher level, unlike at home where music-making is ‘segregated into levels’ (77). Staff describe the experience as ‘living in the camp bubble’ (53) where music of a range of styles can be heard everywhere you go. Nemser also refers to the ‘degree of tension and pressure... [which] seems to come as a result of the three-week time constraint’ (50).

DISScourse

The passing down of summer camp traditions of language and behaviour through generations leads to the creation of symbolic discourse, echoed at DISS. Idiosyncratic terms are used to describe spaces and people, often referring to the estate’s history – Foxhole, one of the main accommodation blocks, is the name of the part of Dartington Hall School originally housed there – whereas some are specific to DISS, such as the name ‘troggs’, a name anecdotally given by the renowned harpsichordist, organist and conductor George Malcolm to stage management volunteers as an abbreviation of ‘troglodyte’, because much of their work occurs under cover of darkness. This naming also extends to the way language is used to identify – and classify – residents:

Everybody rubs shoulders with each other ... there are the professional artistes, there are the music students and the aspiring professionals, there are people like me who are essentially holidaymakers and amateur musicians on the fringe of it all.

Simon, houseparent

Those who are there to perform and tutor are generally referred to 'artists', or 'tutors' – the former term being generally used by the 'artists' themselves or by the administrative staff, whilst those attending courses usually refer to their leaders as 'tutors'. Aspiring professional music students are often referred to as 'bursary students' which differentiates them from other 'participants'. The denotations of types of people attending DISS have some overlap with how they might be referred to in other contexts; terms like amateur, professional, student or teacher all have currency in the 'real world' - although they are still far from straightforward in their application. At DISS some continue to be particularly prevalent, but they are often replaced or supplemented by other names and measures - participant, tutor, artists, longevity of attendance, or 'young people'. This last one is notable due to the unspoken but definite positive association at DISS between youthfulness and musical ability.

Alongside the denotative language used to describe physical spaces and population, Simon's words exemplify the mythological discourse which permeates descriptions of DISS, functioning at an individual, institutional and musical level, and linking back to the inconsistencies in documentary evidence of Dartington's history. Like the idiosyncratic names used to describe places and people, it has been handed down through generations, and consists of a combination of (often historical) references to significant musical figures, usually those who are renowned internationally, and somewhat eulogistic descriptions of the mix of people attending and their activities. An example from Cox (1977) encapsulates the content and the tone of this discourse:

All sorts of experiences [at the summer school] remain vivid: house-keeping for Igor Stravinsky who was in residence for 10 days; the Amadeus and the Juilliard Quartets joining together spontaneously to play octets; and Maderna, Nono and other distinguished Italian musicians playing football in the Courtyard to the danger of all passers-by.

Cox, 1977; 139

Cox's words are echoed in content and tone by Rosalind:

In the old days, there were a lot of absolutely superb musicians who used to come here for the summer, I mean I can remember in my awe-inspired younger days I was just amazed to hear the Amadeus Quartet, and Janet Baker singing, and Gerald Moore doing courses in piano accompaniment and the Academy of St Martin in the Fields, and it was just wonderful.

Rosalind, older resident

Baker, in his provocative analysis of the El Sistema orchestras, states that 'A significant obstacle to the social analysis of musical practices is the tendency towards idealization' (2014; 11); similarly, the discourse used to describe DISS may prevent critical analysis of the actual experience of attending. Baker cites Hollinger (2006), quoting 10-year-old children as saying things like 'playing in the orchestra teaches us responsibility, confidence and discipline' 'playing music changes our souls' (Baker, 2014; 10). As Hollinger herself recognises, these are not exactly individual or personal opinions, and have a ring of the practised response. DISS' atmosphere and combination of residents is described in language that was notably similar and became therefore almost stereotypical. One example comes from Kate, a DISS resident for over 30 years:

The one great thing about Dartington is that once you're here you're nobody if you know what I mean! ... if you come and you can play your instrument, you're in! Or sing or whatever you do ... it's a lovely levelling experience, it doesn't matter who you are, if you're a poor old student who hasn't got a penny to your name doesn't matter, if you can play, and if you're well off and have got two or three expensive cellos that's alright as well ... there's nothing elitist about it at all.

Kate, older resident

Although Kate describes many of DISS' unique qualities, she also demonstrates an allegiance to a somewhat unquestioning Dartington mythology; for example, her assertion that DISS is not elitist is challenged by others and will be considered in more detail later on. Sally's description gives another example of this type of language:

The thing that is most lovely is, for me, is the, I know people always bang on about it, is the amateur-professional thing, to me it's like a microcosm of music in the wider world, so you have the performers, you have the arts administrators and the tugging team, you have the audience, you have the amateur performers as well – you also have the audience, and I think that's really valuable for musicians to be in actually closer contact with their regular audience than they would normally be.

Sally, performer

Again, this description illustrates what makes DISS worthy of close analysis – but in Sally's own acknowledgement that people 'always bang on about it' illustrates the underlying mythologization.

The weekly rhythm

Against the background of DISS' location, seasonal nature, and mythology, the residents' daily routines intersect and interact with the weekly rhythms of DISS and the cyclical life of its community. DISS can be considered as a whole, and also as individual weeks, each with their own character and organised in broadly chronological order.¹⁹ Each week's character is to some extent dictated by the predominant genres and activities on offer – meaning that one may fit a certain personality more than another, and that many people choose to attend during the same week each year.

Tjora (2016) presents the 'social rhythm' of rock festivals by outlining a composite 'day in the life' of an attendee, and a similar consideration of DISS through its weekly rhythm can give a flavour of the experience of attending. Each week starts and ends with a concert in the Great Hall, and is punctuated by the daily patterns of mealtimes, attending courses, attending and performing in concerts, and evening socialising. It is an intense, often exhausting, experience of immersive music-making, during which residents experience a constantly stimulating range of experiences, opportunities and interactions, alongside some significant emotional highs and lows.

¹⁹ The weeks moved in 2012-13 from a general focus on Early Music in Week One to Jazz and very contemporary classical music in Week Five. There is also a shift in instrumental focus with one week each focussing on vocal music, keyboard and piano music, strings, woodwind and brass.

Preparations: insiders and outsiders

As DISS begins, the estate metamorphizes into a temporary site for musical teaching, learning and performance, with the year-round staff supported by a weekly changing team of temporary staff and volunteers.²⁰ Briefing meetings are held with volunteers from lunchtime on the first day. Stadler and Fullagar (2016), in their investigation of knowledge transfer processes within creative festival organisations, discuss how meetings like these contribute to the formal and informal practices that allow for the transfer of a 'festival culture' (146). Their findings suggest that the formal and informal contexts for 'information exchange', which they differentiate from 'knowledge transfer' (147), interact with and are contextualised by the broader dynamics of the organizational culture. The process of 'knowledge transfer' is

performed as a creative and relational social practice, involving professionals and volunteers with different backgrounds coming together for only a short period of time who share their artistic and operational know-how to create the festival experience.

Stadler & Fullagar, 2016; 148

This interaction between the formal and informal, tacit and explicit, processes of communicating with DISS volunteers is evidenced by my field notes:

People try to assert themselves [during the stewards' meeting] as having been here before - lots of interjections from E and C about how things work, don't forget this and that etc.

FN, 21.7.12

²⁰ In 2012-13 the permanent staff consisted of Artistic Director, Producer, Registrar and Administrator, joined for the summer by an Office Manager, a role fulfilled by a different person each week and responsible for the day-to-day running of DISS; Performance Coordinator; volunteer houseparents with practical and pastoral accommodation duties; volunteer 'togs', usually students and recent graduates hoping to make a career in arts management, who work closely with the artists, tutors and production team to support all aspects of teaching and support; and volunteer concert stewards, managed by a Chief Steward with overall responsibility for front of house.

R. [office manager] is doing the trog briefing – he’s telling them about how they have to look after their artists, to ensure that everything goes well at performances. ... Later on, after the concert, one of them says to me “I don’t know where I’m supposed to be or what I’m supposed to be doing”.

FN, 4.8.12

These extracts reveal how those who are familiar with DISS assert and communicate a combination of information exchange and knowledge transfer, and how the impact of this informal transfer is felt by the new trog, who is not yet aware of all the required information and cultural knowledge. As Stadler and Fullagar state, ‘not everything about festival practices and processes can be documented and stored, and thus made explicit’ (2016; 148). Furthermore, ‘In a time-pressured context, the informal opportunities for interaction, relationship building and sharing of past/present experiences were importantly interrelated with the formal organizational practices in fostering understanding of “how things are done”’ (152). This last statement resonates strongly with DISS, where interviewees referred to ‘the way things are done at DISS’.

The cyclical nature of DISS facilitates a process of gradual assimilation into what might be termed an inner circle. This status appears to be gained primarily by longevity of attendance for administrative staff and volunteers, and tutors – in a similar way to achieving a ‘Dartington regular’ status for the amateur residents. Luke identified the importance of this long-term attendance and its capacity to open doors to everyone on site, and also illustrates both a tension between those involved in organisation and everyone else, and the value he associates with ‘being involved’:

When you’re a trog you’re completely involved in everything, that’s maybe why I ended up coming back to office managing a bit actually, it’s a bit like being a trog for grown-ups, and I found it very difficult not to sit where everything was going on, not to be involved in all the artists, so the first few years I was an accompanist I found myself in the office quite a lot, I knew the trogs, I knew the office manager, I knew everybody, I found it quite hard to find myself on the other side of the fence ... People who’ve been here a long long time, like me, you can get involved even as an artist, because you know so many people, and

you can chat to them at lunch and dinner and things, and you feel involved even though you're not in the office.

Luke, tutor

These tensions link back to the earlier discussion of DISS' rituals, and may contribute to the hierarchies of status, longevity, and socio-economic status, which, although often unspoken, permeate its community.

Arrivals

Once the stage has been set, the staff briefed and the administrative spaces established, the residents begin to arrive; as noted elsewhere, they come from diverse musical pathways, and are mixed in age and nationality, with the multigenerational quality being a particularly noticeable feature:

There was a young girl, and also retired people, and everything in between – all relating because they like music, love to play, and that's very special – sometimes courses are only for conservatory students or only for a certain, like, young adults, and this is welcoming to everybody.

Naomi, older resident

Samantha though commented on a 'missing' generation, which in her opinion created a gap between older and younger participants:

I've also noticed that there is a group of people who are missing from this course – it must be very difficult without a crèche for people with children so that age group is missing. I think that makes a stronger gap between young people and older people, which seems a shame.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

On arrival, people make their way to their accommodation, situated on and around the Dartington Hall estate. The Courtyard (comprising the East and West Wings), is situated next to the Great Hall, whilst the Postern, Higher Close, Foxhole and the campsite are

spread around the site. The rooms in the Courtyard's original medieval buildings, are occupied by a combination of artists (tutors and performers) and fee-paying participants paying the maximum amount to attend. Close by (approximately a five-minute walk away from the Courtyard) are the Higher Close accommodation blocks, originally built as part of DCA and offering basic single bedrooms; these rooms are occupied by some tutors and performers, and fee-paying participants for whom the charge is considerably less than the Courtyard room. Postern (which ceased to be used by DISS in 2013) housed some tutors and performers and some fee-paying participants; it cost around the same as Higher Close and a minibus shuttle was provided as it was the most distant from the main campus. Foxhole offers a fourth level of accommodation, in what was originally the Secondary part of Dartington Hall School; these rooms are extremely basic and are used by volunteer stewards, bursary students and fee-paying participants paying almost the minimum amount. The cheapest accommodation of all is the campsite. 'Trots' stay in a separate accommodation block. There are two dining rooms; the White Hart, for Courtyard and Postern, and the Higher Close dining room, for all other residents.

There is to some extent an association between age and accommodation. Broadly speaking, older residents tend not to stay in Foxhole, which offers basic living quarters. Fees vary according to accommodation and those paying maximum fees essentially subsidize aspiring professional students, many of whom receive bursaries or attend as volunteers. This is essentially a form of patronage, given that the wealthier residents effectively 'bankroll' (Esme, tutor) those who can afford to pay less. Staying in the more expensive accommodation also grants greater everyday access to professional tutors and performers, particularly at meal times, since bursary students and those staying in the cheaper accommodation eat in a separate dining room. This can reinforce an age-related divide, since most older residents stay in the more expensive accommodation, whilst those in the younger age group are either bursary students, or unable to afford the higher costs. Economic capital therefore grants increased access to higher status musicians; whilst this often facilitates friendships between older amateur musicians and professional tutors, economic and generational separation can undermine any Utopian vision of a more equal musical society. This hierarchy of accommodation is sometimes noted; one tutor commented on how his room had improved in quality— 'I've certainly got a much nicer room this year!' (Dylan,

tutor), and the following exchange between a new and experienced tutor is a blunt window into how the hierarchies may be perceived:

‘Where’s lunch?’ ‘White Hart’ ‘Is that staff and students together?’ ‘It’s people like you and people who stay here, posh people, and Higher Close is for...’
‘Plebs?’ ‘Plebs, yes’.

FN, 19.8.12

Joselit (1993) describes the discourses, actions and symbols endowed with significance for summer camps residents; many long-standing DISS residents develop personal traditions, such as swimming each morning in the outdoor pool, taking a certain route between studios, and choosing a particular seat for concerts. Löfgren discusses the importance of rituals marking the beginning and end of holiday cottage visits:

On arrival there are rituals of reclaiming the summer ground. Children fly through the knee-high grass to inspect their territories; the rooms wait, dozing, as if frozen in time, every item left as it was last summer [...] the departure at the end of vacations has its own rituals. End-of-summer parties set the mood: the melancholy atmosphere of leave-taking, walking the grounds for the last time.

Löfgren, 1999; 135

This behaviour is echoed by many DISS residents in the routines marking the beginning and end of each week, such as the concert marking the opening of the week, preceded by the traditional queue around the Courtyard before the doors open.

Gave the opening concert of Week 2 with [my vocal ensemble]. It feels as if we have an established audience here, which produces a strange mixture of comfort and pressure. It’s nice performing to lots of people who know and like us, but it also feels important to live up to their expectations. We have to set a good example to the people who are signed up to our course, and, if we

embarrass ourselves, we have to spend the rest of the week in the company of our audience.

Erin, tutor, DD

As Erin notes, this concert sets the tone for the week; it re-establishes connections between residents and performers they remember from previous years, and initiates an intensive immersion in music for everyone at DISS. During the concert interval, another ritual is enacted as the first daily programme is posted and residents are able to see what their timetable will be for the week to come, creating a buzz of excitement as people cluster around the noticeboard.

Settling in and making friends

Each day offers courses and concerts; a full breakdown is provided in Appendix 7.²¹ Although in theory courses are chosen upon registering to attend, in practice, there is often a disconnect between the plans and reality, regarding attendance, content and outcome. For most residents, except for those attending pre-selected (auditioned) courses or those with a specific performance outcome, there is no obligation to attend their chosen courses and many adopt a 'pick and mix' approach:

In week 2 I will do the vocal ensembles but still I kept in my mind [the vocal masterclass] for he is a very good teacher, and I started off in the vocal ensembles, and last year they were very good in the levels putting together but this year I think they had no time so they had put at random picked people and my first group was pfff! so I thought I go to [the vocal class] in the morning and it was not very compatible with [the Baroque Opera chorus course] which does take a lot more time than you actually think.

Marit, older resident

²¹ There are opportunities for instrumental and vocal teaching and learning at individual, small and large group level, some of which are selective courses for advanced students, and others are open to all. Most run for a week with a minority taking place over a fortnight. Residents may attend a course in all four sessions, or choose to spend some or all of their time playing chamber music, or in more ad hoc musical activities. From 5.15pm onwards DISS becomes a home for performances, talks and films; attendance is included in the overall fee and tickets are also sold to the public.

There is, as previously stated, a sense that 'this is how things are DISS', and an attendant capacity for some rather chaotic organisation. This can be experienced most strongly by first-time residents:

You can't relax the first time you come because you don't know where everything is, you're so hectic, you're rushing around from one thing to another, you don't know where the toilets are, and you don't know where the coffee things are and after a while you get to know where everything is.

Susan, older resident

Long-term attendance has many ramifications; the most significant is the establishment of a group of what one tutor referred to as 'Dartington regulars' (Lucy, tutor), with a feeling of 'investment' in DISS, which may contribute to a sense of ownership and a confidence in what could be called their 'DISS identity'.

Some longer term residents appear, rather like the behaviour identified by Stadler and Fullagar (2016) at the Queensland Music Festival, to want to perpetuate this idea of chaos, like Simon, who sees his own familiarity with the environment as a badge of honour compared to those who are new arrivals:

I've been a houseparent four or five times before, it's a happy arrangement, I'm in a place I know well, I can point people in the right direction, reassure people when they find things don't work, tell them it's alright, they're not meant to work.

Simon, houseparent

Tabitha and Clara, both first time residents, were interviewed midway through the week:

C: I was really really nervous and kind of not knowing what to expect but I've had such a great time, and yesterday things really came together

T: Yeah, we met lots of people

C: I met people and kind of found out where everything was, I feel a bit more comfortable

Tabitha and Clara, teenage residents

Their experience is typical of how the experience of attending DISS is inevitably different for first-timers compared to 'regulars'; the routines, rituals and discourse described above can appear impenetrable for those who are new, which can impact on their experience from a social and musical perspective.

[It's been] easier this time than the first time. I was kind of timid and I found it a bit difficult and I learned that it's really good to not be shy, make yourself talk more ... that's what I would encourage people to do, to take a risk, ask someone to play, they might say no, but nothing ventured nothing gained.

Naomi, older resident

Simon describes exactly the type of behaviour Naomi alludes to here:

[The chamber music coordinator] provides us with a kind of organised chaos in which newcomers feel helpless and tongue-tied until they've had their first couple of days. [She] facilitates a system in which everybody can kind of grab people impulsively and find a chamber music arrangement which works, or try something which doesn't work and then move on. Other people are a bit more organised, they put groups together, tell you what you're playing, and when, and I think that there's a place for that as well, some people are much more comfortable with that and I'd feel more comfortable with it as well if I were a newcomer and didn't know people here, but as it is I prefer the organised chaos and the spontaneity that if you're looking for a cellist and you see someone walking across the lawn with a cello case you just go and grab them and tell them where you'd like to be.

Simon, houseparent

Simon is confident in his identity as a 'regular' and feels able to tell someone 'where he'd like to be'; but as Naomi describes, the confidence to take this kind of risk does not always arise on first attending DISS. This can also lead to tensions between the long-term residents and those who are newer:

It is a little bit cliquey and those who've been lots of times know the sort of routine, instrumentalists know that they go to the Gatehouse over there and they sign up for their Mozart 13 wind and if they get their name up first they'll be playing first horn or whatever it is, they know how all the systems work and inevitably people coming for the first time feel a little bit outside the clique.

Dylan, tutor

The 'signing up' mentioned by Dylan refers to the fact that communication with residents is via the noticeboards in the archway of the Great Hall:



Figure 5: noticeboard: 7.8.12

Some notices delineate differences between residents; the chamber music opportunities illustrated here offer impromptu music-making opportunities and opportunities to sign up for groups, whilst on other occasions the noticeboard displayed the timetable for the pre-selected Baroque Orchestra course.

Beyond being a first time or regular attendee, the process of assimilation into various groups and the formation and sustaining of friendships is a thread which runs alongside and intersects that of music-making. Much of what it reveals about friendship would be expected from any study of individual and group interactions in a residential situation, with interviewees describing new friends made, friendships renewed each year, and contact maintained with Dartington friends during the year. Like summer camps, DISS is a 'laboratory in group life' (Sales & Saxe, 2003; 3) where the intensity of contact between residents stands in contrast to the interactions at regularly meeting groups (Sales & Saxe, 2003), where the group dynamics and social

networks often form an integral part of their existence (Finnegan, 1989); the social context of a summer school differs from these groups because of its time-bound nature. Regular attendance may engender a comparable sense of belonging, as identified by Pitts (2005) at the CoMA summer school; Pitts found though that 'the social network provides a context for individual learning, rather than being the main reason for attendance' (2005; 38). She also found that:

The concentrated experience of a summer school results in different kinds of social interaction from those found in a performing society that meets regularly over a longer period of time: more immediate negotiation of inter-personal difficulties is necessary, and the personal aims which members bring to the group have less time to be assimilated into shared goals and so remain clearly articulated in participants' discourse.

Pitts, 2005; 35

The condensed time of a summer school can highlight therefore differences in residents' aspirations, a question which will be explored more fully later on.

While at DISS, individuals may become part of many different groups which sit within DISS' broader community and interact and intersect with other groups. As Tillmann-Healy (2003) states, friendships contribute to the formation of our relational identity. DISS offers an opportunity for dialogue between what Tillmann-Healy describes as 'self' and 'other' in terms of the types of people encountered:

In addition to emotional resources, friendships provide identity resources. Conceptions of self and other are formed, reinforced, and altered in the context of ongoing relationships. This explains why Gary Alan Fine (1981) called friendship "a crucible for the shaping of selves" (p.265). Friendships tend to confirm more than contest conceptions of self because we are prone to befriend those who are similar to ourselves, those more "self" than "other".

Tillmann-Healy 2003; 731

Tabitha and Clara, both teenagers, discussed their experience:

I'm so glad Clara's come, I was like 'Thank God,' we've kind of stuck together [and] we've made friends with the brass players and they're lots of fun (Clara – they're a bit of a bad influence!)

Tabitha and Clara, teenage residents

The 'brass players' they refer to are mainly professional or aspiring professional players, either at or recently graduated from university – so this statement encapsulates the possibility of meeting those are 'self' and those who are 'other' in terms of age or musical sphere. For some, like Helen, meeting those who are more 'self' is important: 'It's meeting people of your own standard and your own age, so it's nice.' (Helen, bursary student). The numerous contexts for social interactions also facilitate meetings between people who might not otherwise encounter each other due to differences in age, nationality or background; Sally described first attending DISS as a teenager -

The people I made friends with were an Australian guy in his thirties, an English recorder and Baroque oboe player who was about two years older than me, there was a 14 year old boy, no, he was younger than that, he was about 11 maybe, and there was this Dutch guy in his forties.

Sally, performer

Groups at DISS may be marked out by instruments, equipment or physical identifiers such as badges – 'they gave us badges with instrument and level so we could introduce ourselves to each other and form [chamber music] groups.' (Samantha, younger resident, DD); lists on noticeboards are also used to group people together. Many people spend time sitting on the lawn in the Courtyard, and my field notes contain references to how certain groups may colonise particular areas – the 'singers' tree', or the 'DFO deckchairs'. Groups may physically embody their identity:

E. says "Is that the cast of the opera? You can sort of tell can't you, by the way they walk, 'we're the cast of the opera' (imitating them).

FN, 23.7.12

Alongside the formation of groups, an important part of the DISS experience is the flourishing of individual friendships. New bonds form rapidly; Alan's diary demonstrates a friendship developing over a week; it also illustrates how people can feel left out of groups which form so fast:

- 12.8.12 There is a violinist, Z., who looks across to me sympathetically – she understands!
- 14.8.12 Enjoy our Sunrise piece and the talking round the group and rest of session, but not everyone happy with group, and I feel something of Z.'s frustration. Am aware of how different personality types respond to Dartington in very different ways. Very much sympathise with Z.'s difficulties in relating to other people in the impro group.
- 15.8.12 Breakfast conversation with Z. connects with yesterday's philosophical conversation about personality types' differences in the experience of intensity.
- 17.8.12 Supper with Z. Great meeting – soulmates – joined by N....
M...the show goes on.
[...]
I really enjoy the music and dancing. Dance with 5 or 6 different people then finally Z. comes over and we have last two dances together – much more improvised and ambitious than anyone else!

Alan, older resident, DD

The tension between the individual and group experience of the improvisation class, as identified by Pitts (2005a), is evident here; it also though allows for the intense development of the friendship between Alan and Z., culminating on the final day with a description of her as a 'soulmate' and the enjoyment of dancing together, in a way that in his view is 'much more improvised' than the other dancers – so their shared identity as free improvisers in the class is given an outing on the public stage.

For the professional and aspiring professional musicians who attend DISS, the social aspect can contribute to the formation of professional networks - a 'web of

sociomusical connections' (Cottrell, 2004; 61), which Bennett (2008) identifies as vital to the success of the professional musician's career. Cottrell (2004) considers that musical ability and social competence are closely intertwined, with social skills being 'indispensable in the pursuit of a professional music career' (74). In his findings, musicians exist 'within a matrix of personal and professional relationships whose nodal points may be said to be the groups, institutions and performance events in which they come together' (7). Becker (1963; 104) refers to 'informal, interlocking cliques' amongst jazz musicians, which new members can join only upon the recommendation of existing ones; 50 years later, this is still the case - as Coulson (2012) discussed, networks are often created in an ad hoc fashion which lacks a clear strategy. Dobson (2011) identifies a significant tension in the classical music world between the 'backstabbing' environment of conservatoire culture and the need for 'professional sociability' in order to find and retain paid work. DISS provides an opportunity for aspiring and current professional players to develop new networks in an environment that is very different to the conservatoire, acting as a new 'nodal point' and enabling all of the aspects of networking identified by Coulson. This is not always an easy process, as Graham, an aspiring composer, points out:

I thought well, it's about time I started doing this kind of thing, summer schools, I think in my mind I was thinking of summer schools as being a place where you go and present yourself and you meet people and you make important contacts and you have to present yourself very well, you have to make a good impression, and it's from my point of view because I'm not just coming here for fun, there is that feeling that it's important for my career and that's a stressful thought so I was - I just thought yeah I've got to damn well do it.

Graham, younger resident

If the challenges of networking as described by Graham can be overcome, then DISS presents opportunities to useful contacts, as Gordon explains:

G: Some of the friends that I made in that first week in Dartington, a couple of them are colleagues of mine that we play all over, we play all over Europe, play in really good groups ...

HRK: So it's sort of led to professional opportunities for you, through coming here?

G: Yes, I'd say so ... I mean I didn't, it wasn't like the phone was ringing afterwards because I wasn't really employable because I was only a beginner but actually ... some of the relationships that I've made here in week one are some of the professional relationships that I've maintained ... ten years later.

Gordon, tutor

Social relationships are therefore an important and memorable aspect of the DISS experience, as is in the total immersion in music provided by its residential status.

Immersion in music

I pass by the bar – the folk tutors are there playing together. As I walk through the gardens I hear someone playing Bach on the violin and there's also someone playing the guitar under a tree. There are some DFO players behind me – they are talking about difficult harmonics that they have to play and about how one of the conductors always rushes the third beat.

FN 6.8.12

Somebody is playing the lute, there are rehearsals going in on in the Great Hall (I think it's a flute playing or maybe a recorder) and I can hear a gamelan coming from behind the hedge. A group of singers passes by – B. says "I love how at Dartington it's not unusual to see someone playing the lute, just chilling". Someone comes over to the lute player – "Is that a chitarrone?" They talk about the size, the length of the strings, how much it costs – does the sound travel? He goes further away to listen "all this business about lutes being quite..." The player replies "If you're shy and you're a lute player you'll just never be heard". They go on to talk about how there are quite a few shy lute players! He also demonstrates the resonance of the low strings, showing how

well the sound travels. There's a fairly inept string quartet to be heard through the window, and also some applause coming from a masterclass – occasional snatches of singing too. The lute player moves to face towards the sound of the gamelan and seems to be improvising along with what they're playing.

FN 3.7.12

As the week progresses, the atmosphere which characterises DISS is created, absorbed, and sustained. There are numerous formal and informal opportunities to make, hear, learn and talk about music. In the introductory chapter to their book 'Music, Health, and Wellbeing', Macdonald et al. (2012; 4) list the reasons why they believe music is beneficial to wellbeing and health; it is ubiquitous, emotional, engaging, distracting, physical, ambiguous, social, and communicative, with the capacity to affect both our behaviours and our identities. Immersion in an environment suffused with music creates therefore an atmosphere stimulating profound emotional responses and engagement with both the surroundings and those who share them. For the duration of their stay, whatever their 'real life' activity, residents are, as Graham says, 'musicians making music',

The whole atmosphere of the place, the concerts every day which are of such a high level, the joy of music-making that everybody has here, everyone seems to be so happy, I mean I think that comes from the fact they're just so happy to be here with all these other musicians making music

Graham, younger resident

These 'other musicians' include some people who are very well known, an important factor in how the DISS atmosphere is experienced:

I think it is a very special combination really, the setting, the quality of the music-making, the chance to sort of brush shoulders with the very big names.

Vanessa, older resident

Vanessa's characterisation of 'brushing shoulders with big names' raises the question of what the impact of 'brushing shoulders' might be, and whether this encounter is

experienced as equals or in hierarchical relationship, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

DISS also offers multiple musical genres:

It is really unique because there are so many different things that all sort of feed into each other, there's a mix of things which I think makes the place really special ... so often music courses you go, and it's a recorder course, and it might have a harpsichord course running alongside it but it's absolutely focussed on that instrument, and I think that the students can learn so much from going and watching other classes, and from joining with things either that are sort of obvious for them to join in, like a lot of my students are also doing the medieval class, but also one of them's doing the Dirty Electronics class, and things like that – and so they're kind of getting a lot of different influences, and talking, they can go and talk to the other tutors and all the concerts, there's such a variety, so it's not as narrow.

Jane, tutor

It's the sort of openness of the attitude ... openness to everyone really, the music obviously being the unifying factor but everything else, there's sort of a much more eclectic mix of people and influences than a lot of other festivals.

Timothy, tutor

As Jane and Timothy identify, this range, like its mix of residents, distinguishes DISS from other music summer schools and courses for aspiring professionals - it offers 'a great diversity ... of genres and styles and specialities, and everything that you get here – a melting pot really.' (Jackie, tutor).²² Dialogue is facilitated:

There's this exchange between, it doesn't really matter whether you've studied or whether you just do it because you like to, very open-minded here, I love

²² Examples of other such summer schools in the UK include the COMA summer school, with its focus on contemporary music, Benslow Music which offers a range of adult learning opportunities, but mainly targeting amateur learners and without the performance aspect included at DISS, and IMS Prussia Cove specialising in chamber music and open only by invitation to advanced young musicians.

that! ... I think it shows the value of the music, yes, you see so many happy faces, people having a whole week of music of all different types, brings you somehow to what the point of it is ... Sometimes [as a professional musician] you are in surroundings where there are only people that live professionally and it's very much specialised ... but it's nice somehow to see it from the other perspective of the people that don't do it all day long and aren't professional [and who have a] very much different angle of looking at something.

Selina, tutor

As a professional musician, Selina may at times feel distanced from the 'point' of making music – but immersion in the mixed musical environment of DISS allows her to reconnect with something fundamental about the 'value of music'. A further perspective is offered by Jackie, who focused on the creativity enabled by attending DISS:

It's a very creative place, Dartington, as you know, and I always find myself using the expression that I've had my creative batteries recharged when I've been here, and it's partly to do with just generally listening a lot to other musicians, it's to do with talking with people, and that there's a great diversity...

Jackie, tutor

While at DISS, it is possible to simply enjoy being surrounded by musicians, music-making and creativity, but as identified by this exchange, a certain attitude on the part of residents is important:

G. [first time attendee] asks me how long I've been coming to Dartington and he asks me what the secret is to getting the most out of it. It's hard to put into words what it is but together we decide that maybe it's not being afraid to have a go at things.

FN, 6.8.12

The willingness to 'have a go' - and to persist with activities - in order to make the most of DISS was echoed by many others, and links into a broader picture of the atmosphere, characterised by many as non-judgemental, supportive and with a sense of freedom that allows for the making of mistakes. DISS is perceived as 'not all kind of 'music college', very intense atmosphere where everybody's kind of competitive with each other' (Daphne, younger resident). The capacity to take risks and experience something new is open to musicians at all levels, whether it is an older amateur making a first attempt to play a new piece – or even a new instrument – or an experienced professional feeling that DISS is a safe place to try out a new piece. Gavin Henderson, DISS' longest-serving artistic director, described it like this –

A musically focused annual meeting-ground where inhibitions can be put to rest and all who come can take part [...] even the most resistant will still be drawn into the alchemy that encourages everyone to simply 'do it' in one way or another.

Henderson, 2008; 16

Those who fully embrace the opportunity to 'do it' described by Henderson can find themselves immersed in a busy and intense period of making music, a flavour of which is given by the following extracts, representing the perspectives of both amateur and aspiring professional residents:

[A group of older residents] start talking about the late-night concerts – 'If you know you're playing [chamber music] at 9am you've got to give that priority over everything else'.

FN, 16.8.12

When I came as a student I felt, obviously there was two piano classes a day, and I had to really be there for all of them, and felt the need to practice first thing in the morning and try and rush to get a studio, and then I really did want to go to all the concerts, and I did go to most of them, so that was really intense.

Matthew, accompanist

The intensity of this experience often leads to residents feeling emotionally and physically worn out by their week at DISS, a feeling which is compounded by being away from home. This tiredness might contribute to the 'other-worldly' atmosphere of DISS; activities experienced through a veil of exhaustion often have a dreamlike quality, and tiredness might also contribute to a breaking down of boundaries between people.

A final element of the immersive atmosphere is the elusive 'Dartington spirit' referred to earlier. Paul and Stella give accounts of what they think this is:

I did some chamber music last year, and that... kind of summed up what Dartington was about – we played through some piano quintets with [a renowned British composer and pianist] because he just had a spare hour in his lunch hour, and the two violinists were, well, amateurs, you know, really enthusiastic, and it was just great because you had this international guy who was quite happy to play through some stuff with some people who weren't so great and that was, that was for me what I took away as the Dartington spirit.

Paul, orchestra member

The 7.45 concert was a real high spot, especially the Bach funeral cantata. I think this epitomised the Dartington spirit. So many talented individuals playing and singing together.

Stella, houseparent, DD

For Paul, the 'Dartington spirit' is all about inclusivity and enjoyment of making music with those on a different pathway, whereas for Stella, it is more about 'talented individuals' coming together to make music. The subtle but crucial differences in their perception exemplify how, even though this 'spirit' is much referred to, it is difficult to pin down and has an aura of the mythical.

Departures

Rituals also mark the end of the week; alongside the final choral concert, involving many residents as performers, scheduled and unscheduled end-of-course

performances happen throughout the final day. Late night celebrations follow, often the culmination of a jazz or dance course. The bar stays open until late, allowing for a final evening tinged, as in Erin's description, with the nostalgia of the end of a summer holiday; it is a liminal night, marking a transition back to the 'real world'.

I love the last night of Dartington. I associate it with talking to lots of interesting musicians that I haven't met all week. The baroque orchestra always seems to hide away during the week, then we finally meet them on the Friday, and there's a real party atmosphere after the concert. I'm only sad that we then have to leave, so I never get a chance to speak to these people again. But perhaps that's what makes it so special.

Erin, tutor, DD

This description embodies the carnivalesque nature of DISS, and some of the unreal quality that permeates each week. The following Saturday is characterised by the departure of one group of residents and the arrival of a new one. For those residents who are leaving, the final day at DISS marks a transition back into the 'real world', in which the impact of their time at DISS may continue to be felt in real terms through musical and social relationships maintained throughout the year, or in more abstract terms through the impact on their musical identity and sense of self, a theme which will be explored in Chapter 4.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter has presented a closer look at the Dartington Experiment, identifying lines of dialogue that link to DISS today and focussing in particular on the tension between amateur participation in music-making and the desire for a product of a high standard. Analysis of the current DISS community reveal that the Utopian visions of the Elmhursts coexist with a carnivalesque quality, whose distinctly 'other worldly' aspect is reinforced by rituals, the mythological discourse surrounding DISS and the 'Dartington spirit'. Within this community, the diversity of DISS residents and activities, together with immersion in music, distance from 'real life' and a range of ways of being a musician reveal both possibilities and hierarchies. This engenders reflection on

the residents' experience upon encountering the 'discontinuities' which are characteristic not only of their 'pre-Utopian experience' but also the real world to which they return once DISS is over.

Thinking devices

- The tension between 'participation' and 'standards' may undermine possibilities for dialogue enabled by collaborative music-making, a finding which may have relevance in music education settings beyond DISS, as well as in this specific context.
- Carnavalesque, Utopian qualities of 'other-worldly' music-making prompt consideration of how Utopian ideals concerning the democratization of art and informing the ethos of DISS might confront the talent and status based hierarchies endemic in the classical music tradition.

Chapter 4: Musical identities and pathways

Identity is a set of currents, flowing currents, rather than a fixed place or a stable set of objects.

Barenboim, cited in Guzelimian, 2002; 5

This chapter will consider the musical identities of those at DISS, with relation to their pathway as amateur, professional, aspiring professional, or somewhere between the three. As discussed elsewhere, I have sought to avoid over-dependence on categorisations of DISS residents as particular ‘types’ of musicians, but it is nevertheless useful in this context to use the terms ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ to draw together similarities in experience and musical life stories. I end the chapter with a consideration of a ‘DISS identity’, which may be enabled by long-term participation and often correlates with attendance as part of leisure activity.

Musical identities and life stories

It is widely agreed across disciplines that ‘identity’ is fluid and relational. Giddens (1991) considers that the reflexive self is a function of high modernity, due to the reorganisation of space and time and the ‘disembedding mechanisms’ (2) which free social relations from specific locations. This fragmentation of localised community – ‘liquid modernity’ (Bauman, 2004) - leads to a search for other forms of real and virtual community. In the context of ‘multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems of modern social life’ (5) there is a need to sustain and revise biographical contexts; because of the level of choice we are able to make about our identities, the self is reflexively reimagined.

The experience of attending DISS provides a focus for this reimagination, with its transitory community allowing members to be a different version of themselves. Residents who come together at DISS bring with them multiple identities and ‘locations’, in Richardson’s term:

We all occupy, and are 'located in', multiple identities that shape the ways in which we experience and understand the world [...] as musicians we are further 'located' by our principal instrument, level of performance achievement, academic musical background, and ensemble affiliation [...] There are also less visible personal 'locations' that shape our contributions to discussion of the broad social issues under construction here: our core values, the home training we brought to adulthood, and all the experiences that make up our current world view.

Richardson, 2007; 207

These 'locations' may be realigned, transformed or challenged at DISS. The impact of this change may be temporary or permanent, and its reach may be contingent upon the aspirations and expectations of those attending.

DISS brings people into close musical contact with those whose everyday musical lives, pathways, and aspirations are different to their own, as explained by Daphne and Esme, in the context of a vocal class and an early brass course:

There are people from music colleges of course, and then are people who just love singing - they don't have any aspirations to be a singer, they just like singing and want to learn more about it, and then there are people who are just starting out, or have been doing it for years in choirs but perhaps have never sung in public on their own.

Daphne, younger resident

In our group it's kind of a microcosm of Dartington itself in that we've got a [conservatoire] student, who's an extremely able player but he's taking his first steps as an early player, at the very high end of - he's going to go out into the profession in a few years, and then we've got a professional modern trombonist who again is retraining kind of mid-career ... and then we've got a man who's choosing to spend his holiday learning from scratch, having never ever played a brass instrument before.

Esme, tutor

For every musician attending DISS, music plays an integral role in their life. For some it has offered a route to a professional career, whereas for others this career was not available or explicitly forbidden. Music is associated with some of their most profound experiences, and marks a track through their lives and identities. Pitts' (2012) collection of 'musical life histories' explores the influence of music on people's lives, identifying themes of childhood music-making at home and in school, influential individuals, musical life history highlights and regrets about opportunities missed. These aspects also emerged from my data, with relation to both musical life stories before attending DISS and the impact of DISS itself. Personal musical histories are often characterised by contrasting high and low points; Taylor (2011), in research with six mature-aged keyboard players, used a 'river of musical experience' on which participants mapped out their musical life stories, with crosses representing crucial positive or negative experiences and influences.

The stories of DISS residents echo many of these milestones: respondents commented on the role of the family, musical starting points and choice of instruments, formal and informal learning, musical opportunities (or the lack thereof), moments of decision-making or turning-point, and musical activities continued across the life-course, or discontinued and then taken up again in later life. Each of these milestones contributes to their sense of themselves as musicians, or musical identity. Smith (2013) refers to the 'snowball self' to describe how we 'pick up' new aspects of our identity, considering that rather than leaving parts of ourselves behind, each new experience becomes assimilated into our sense of who we are. As well as considering DISS' potential for realignment, it can also be conceptualised as a chance to 'pick up' a new part of the identity, and to add to the existing life story.

Constructing musical identities

In their discussion of musical identity, MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell (2002) differentiate between self-system, self-concept, self-identity and self-esteem. The self-system is defined as composed of many self-concepts, which are integrated into the self-identity; self-esteem is an evaluative judgement upon the latter. MacDonald et al. also distinguish between 'identities in music' and 'music in identities'. The latter refers to how music may be used to develop other aspects of personal identity, as in Willis'

(1978) study of how 'bike boys' and 'hippies', use identification with certain genres of music to formulate group culture and communicate within the group. Music's power to connect on an emotional level contributes to its capacity to formulate and express individual identities, often reflecting our emotional states (DeNora, 2000). Lamont (2011) refers to music's potential to negotiate and support identity; MacDonald et al. (2002) discuss a similar ability to present both who we are and want to be through our identification with musical genres, as exemplified by Rhona:

You have to have a certain kind of personality, a certain kind of brain to really appreciate early music and I've definitely got it – geeky! Eccentric, certainly to be a viol player...

Rhona, tutor

'Identities in music' are the social or cultural roles held by individuals in musical scenarios, possibly related to specific instruments or genres, as in Rhona's case, and often developed in early childhood. Lamont (2002, 2011) refers to the self-definition as a 'non-musician' which may develop at an early age as a result of negative musical experiences, or because of a lack of cognitive awareness of musical activities. In her 2002 work on school musical identity, she discusses the high proportion of pupils who considered themselves not to be musicians, despite regularly playing instruments during school lessons. Her 2011 study of adult amateur musicians presents similar findings regarding the discrepancy between regular musical activities and responses to the question 'do you consider yourself to be a musician?'. Examples from DISS shows how the term 'musician' is used for self-categorisation in this way:

On the minibus a man says 'Good morning, fellow travellers – I bet you're all serious musicians, I'm not'.

FN, 12.8.12

Raymond makes an even clearer distinction, drawing a contrast between his identity as a musician and elsewhere:

My professional life is not as a musician, so I'm very much an amateur musician, whereas I'm quite confident in my own professional field, of course in music I'm a rank amateur.

Raymond, older resident

The term 'musician' was used at DISS to refer both to a professional role, and to the individual self-concept, both in the long-term – 'I always saw myself as being a musician' (Timothy, tutor), 'I was brought up as a musician' (Rhona, tutor) – and in the moment. Luke describes his experiences of playing for long hours as an accompanist at DISS – 'it doesn't make you feel much like a musician if you're not careful' (Luke, tutor). Louise used the term 'singer' in a similar way to 'musician', making an important distinction between 'singing', and 'being a singer':

L: I don't call myself a singer, but I sing, it's not the same thing

HRK: Isn't it?

L: Not really, not really, I'm not a singer, I don't do solos and things, I'm not a singer, no, no, but I sing.

Louise, older resident

This comment contrasts with her reference later in her interview to being a 'coloratura soprano', a term more usually used by professional singers to describe their voice type; so although she says she is 'not a singer' there are many ways in which her musical self-identity is as a singer.

Developing MacDonald et al.'s (2002) conception of musical self-system, self-concept, self-identity and self-esteem, Dolloff (2007) differentiates between 'Identity' (how a person sees themselves in general) and 'identity' (the individual identities which we construct for the variety of contexts in which we exist). (4). She suggests that we can choose which identity to present in different situations in order to make ourselves seem most important and relevant. This implies a significant level of agency, and an attendant self-awareness of the capacity to move between different identities. DISS presents many opportunities for identity framing and construction; this may result from a conscious choice, such as that described by Dolloff, or may be more unconscious. The following two examples illustrate conscious and unconscious identity

construction, beginning with an observation noted at the beginning of a violin workshop:

When I come in [to the studio] there are three violinists walking around the room playing – two of them stop but E. continues – she’s playing the Tchaikovsky violin concerto. Stopping she says ‘who wants to carry on?’ – F. plays the next bit (pizzicato notes).²³ E. carries on playing by herself and F. says ‘I better practise as well’, starting to play a fiddle tune.

Violin workshop 1, 6.8.12

The Tchaikovsky violin concerto is an established piece of solo repertoire, although the movement E. played is not especially virtuosic, so was a good choice to play well in a situation which aims to demonstrate musical self-confidence. By asking ‘who wants to carry on’, E. both invites collaboration and musical equality, and sets a challenge – ‘who *can* carry on’ is implied, rather than ‘who *wants to* carry on’. In continuing the piece using pizzicato, F. expresses a desire to be seen as an equal, but seemingly lacks the self-esteem to play fully with the bow. Her statement that she ‘better practise as well’, followed by the execution of a folk fiddle tune (presumably part of the repertoire for the folk music class) establishes her musical self-concept as separate from E., presenting herself as an equally serious violinist, but in a different genre.

In the second example, an overheard conversation in the bar demonstrates how musical identity can be asserted in relation to external factors: repertoire, music-making activities, and teachers:

There’s a violinist who’s pretty much dominating the conversation. She’s talking about a competition she’s preparing for, describing in depth all the stages and the music that she needs to prepare for each round (Bach, Paganini, Brahms, a concerto).²⁴ Everyone seems impressed and asks her questions about why she’s doing it - she says it basically means nothing and if she wins she can make much of it but otherwise it’s insignificant. She talks about how she’s preparing for

²³ Pizzicato notes on the violin are plucked and therefore much quieter than playing with the bow

²⁴ All challenging works from the violin canon

another competition too – then the conversation moves on to how many languages she speaks. [...] She explains how she’s studying in Vienna²⁵, how she got the highest entrance exam marks to get in but now she has this amazing new teacher who changed her whole technique –there’s a lot of demonstration of how she doesn’t use a shoulder rest any more (this sparks a whole conversation about the relationship between modern and Baroque violin technique and how she’s trying to use the same approach, like many others including Menuhin).

FN, 22.7.12

In this unfamiliar social situation, the violinist asserts her musical self-concepts (MacDonald et al., 2002), or identities, in Doloff’s conception. By referring to the competition in both self-promoting (hard work and challenging repertoire) and self-deprecating (losing does not matter) terms, she projects a high level of self-esteem, further reinforced by references to speaking many languages, success in gaining entry to conservatoire, and preparation for another competition. Referring to her ‘changed technique’ again combines self-deprecation and self-promotion – she is prepared to change her technique and realises that this is a positive step in her training, but simultaneously asserts her success in making these changes and compares herself to one of the best-known violinists of the twentieth century. Her conversation therefore asserts a relational identity both regarding her presentation of herself to the others present – where she wants to establish a comparative musical status – and regarding her relationship to the external factors discussed above.

Writing in 2017, Hargreaves, MacDonald and Miell add an extra dimension to their earlier distinction between music in identities and identities and music:

musical identities are performative and social – they represent something that we *do*, rather than something that we *have*, namely the ways in which we jointly engage with music in everyday life.

Hargreaves et al. 2017; 5

²⁵ Location of a renowned conservatoire of music

Elliott and Silverman (2017) present a similarly socially located, praxial view of music-making, in which ‘people of all ages and abilities can positively co-construct each other’s musical-social-personal identities’ (29), expanding therefore the conception of the self as dialogic to include the processual approach to musical identity identified by Hargreaves et al. In Elliott and Silverman’s view, music-making, listening and dancing of all kinds are

constructive acts [serving] as tools, technologies, or “affordances” by means of which individuals create their social-cultural gendered communities, and form and inform their identities.

Elliott & Silverman, 2017; 29

The following extract from an observation of a medieval music class gives an example of this praxial construction of identity in a musical learning situation:

A piece of music is introduced [...] – initially with the tutor singing the lead lines– then Y. offers to sing the lead lines all the way through.²⁶ She is clearly ‘performing’ – with her gesture, movement, the general way she’s behaving – she gets more into the performance as it goes on although she’s self-conscious with gestures like holding her arm across her stomach and fiddling with her hair. Later in the session the other tutor asks for people to volunteer to do solos – there’s quite a lot of exchanged glances, deferring to people. P. (the student from Birmingham who I chatted to a couple of days ago – she was undecided about whether to carry on with music or not) is more confident than she looks – she’s quite internal but you can tell that she loves the music and is a confident reader.

Medieval music, 24.7.12

The process of learning new repertoire allows individuals to assert their musical identity and self-esteem. Handing over the solo part from tutor to course participant demonstrates that individual’s sense of musical self in volunteering to take the part,

²⁶ The piece of music had a call and response structure, with a solo singer performing the ‘lead lines’ while the rest of the group sang a separate line together.

which is then both re-asserted and undermined by physical behaviours - gesture and movement while singing demonstrating confidence, fiddling with hair illustrating real or feigned lack of confidence. When the tutor asks for more volunteers to take solo parts, the exchanges of glances and deferential behaviour show how individuals both construct and co-construct themselves as more or less musically able. The taking on of the solo role by a student who I had previously met, and knew to be unsure about her musical capabilities, reveals the disconnect between what people say about themselves musically and how they re-construct this musical self-concept through their praxial engagement with music-making – even in such concrete ways as demonstrating a confident sight-reading ability.

However DISS residents construct their musical identity, the period of their attendance at the summer school allows them to explore, present and challenge their musical self-concept, identities in music, and music in their identities, in particular by means of the diverse roles they play while in residence.

Playing musical roles

A salient feature of the DISS experience is the possibility of playing multiple roles during a week, a day or even a single class; residents act as teachers, learners, performers, and listeners. A comment recorded in my field notes illustrates how close residential proximity highlights the fluidity of roles played:

‘...people look quite ordinary in the dining room and then you see them transformed’

FN, 25.7.12

The opportunity to play different actual roles while at DISS forms therefore a concrete representation of the mutability of identity.

Pitts, describing participation by staff and students in university extra-curricular performance activities, states that:

The fluctuating roles in which music students might find themselves - from concert-goer to concert-giver, and from seminar participant to ensemble leader

- are all part of the community of practice. Learning to negotiate and smooth these transitions is part of developing a secure musical identity.

Pitts, 2013a; 198

Explorations of different roles by DISS residents make similar contributions to identity negotiation and development. Elliott and Silverman describe the musical self as a jazz ensemble:

whose many millions of players (self-processes) are so expert at improvising collaboratively in relation to continuous changes in environmental circumstances that 'beautiful music' – meaning *you* and your unique experience of reality – flows continuously. The players in the ensemble create *your experience of you* as the arranger and performer of your life's music.

Elliott & Silverman, 2012; 32

DISS allows residents to both explore individually and concretize the 'many millions of players' through the roles they play, as they 'arrange and perform' a 'life's music' that may last for the week that they are at DISS, may return when they do the following year, or may have rippling impacts throughout their everyday lives.

Hesmondhalgh situates discussion of musical identity in the interplay between the private and public dimensions of music:

Music often feels intensely and emotionally linked to the private self [and] music is often the basis of collective, public experiences [...] These private and public dimensions of musical experience may support and reinforce each other.

Hesmondhalgh, 2013; 2

At DISS, public and private experiences of music making mix, with an intensely personal experience of 'growth and development' (Lucy, tutor) combining with an expectation, whether institutional or personal, of public sharing as performer or audience member. This combination, together with the capacity to occupy diverse roles, presents both opportunities and challenges, as illustrated by a snapshot of Stella's time at DISS. Her diary documents her experience over the course of a day,

illustrating her transitions from individual learner, to performer in a group class, to reflective audience member, to potential performer in a group which she considers to have a high status and which represents a new, unusual opportunity for her:

Today I had a 1:1 lesson and I sang in D.'s class. Did better on Lascia... and 'the Rune'. A bit less nervous and making a better sound.

The main concert was amazing – string quartet playing Haydn and Schubert and in the second half some incredible Shostakovich. I've never heard a piano so loud. The contrast between the soft tuneful sections and the more aggressive bits [...] They watched each other beautifully and were wonderfully unanimous. At dinner, D. [vocal tutor] persuaded me to sing in the Chamber Choir – only 2 days of rehearsals left. But I feel so flattered to be asked!

Stella, houseparent, DD

For some DISS residents, this kind of unfamiliar musical experience on a public stage is less opportunity and more obligation, as illustrated by a different perspective, when J., one of the resident accompanists, is asked to sing with the chamber choir to boost numbers in a performance:

J. [accompanist] walks past – I ask him if he's looking forward to chamber choir 'Just going off to do some practice' he says, looking nervous.

FN, 16.8.12

This incident illustrates how someone who is normally secure in their professional musical identity can be placed in a position of insecurity by being asked to fulfil a different role in front of an audience; so what for Stella is an exciting opportunity becomes for someone else a source of nerves. For Stella, music is something that she is still learning about; elsewhere in her diary, she expressed her pleasure in continuing to develop as a singer, partly through reconnecting with a skill that she felt she used to have as a younger person. Her musical self-identity might be conceived of therefore as that of the learner; she is aware that she still has much to learn (or rediscover) about singing. For J. the accompanist, conversely, music is a profession, and playing the piano is something he feels confident and secure in, after much time spent studying. His

musical self-identity is that of the pianist; being asked to appear as a singer therefore challenges his musical self-esteem, inciting nerves and requiring him to practice.

Possible musical selves

Interactions during everyday group musical activities contribute greatly to relational determination of musical identity; this may also occur by identifying strongly as a member of an ensemble, or feeling excluded from such bodies, leading to a 'negative' form of identity definition. The group dynamics and social networks arising from musical groups, both amateur and professional, that meet regularly form an integral part of their existence. As Pitts states:

Musical participation has been shown to offer an independence from the restricted or pre-determined roles of everyday life, rendered safe by the supportive group context within which such self-exploration takes place.

Pitts, 2005a; 69

Another form of 'belonging' may be defined by musical genres; Cottrell (2004) describes in his study of professional musicians in London how these groups exist predominantly in isolation from one another. Although different types of musicians may occasionally sit side by side (for example, a jazz and a classical musician in the pit orchestra for a West End show), in which they are contributing to the same musical outcome, they are not the same and their perceptions of what they are doing are different. At DISS, there is a similar congregation of different groups of musicians, each with their own musical pathway and equally divergent perceptions of what they are doing.

This diversity both opens up possibilities and highlights differences. The concept of the 'possible self' (Markus & Nurius, 1986) suggests that an individual's 'possible self' relates to the ideal self that they would like to become, the selves they fear becoming and the previous versions of the self that remain within our current self-concept:

An individual's repertoire of possible selves can be viewed as the cognitive manifestation of enduring goals, aspirations, motives, fears and threats. Possible selves provide the specific self-relevant form, meaning, organization and direction to these dynamics. As such, they provide the essential link between the self-concept and motivation.

Markus & Nurius, 1986; 954

'Possible selves' as a construct has been used by researchers in diverse musical contexts, including choral singing (Freer, 2010), professional musicians' career identities (Bennett & Freer, 2012), lifelong learning (Frazier et al., 2002; Rossiter, 2007; Creech, Hallam, Varvarigou, & Gaunt, 2013) and motivation (Schnare et al., 2012). The possible self is usually determined and limited by the individual's social surroundings; the capacity of DISS therefore to provide an alternative 'possible self' is clear. The idea of the possibility of encountering different (real or imagined) versions of oneself motivated this research in the first place, and these versions may be in the form of the amateur, professional or aspiring professional musician; they may also come together to form a DISS identity.

Amateur musical pathways

As discussed in Chapter 1, amateur music-making has been a mainstay of the European classical tradition throughout its history, and it was in the context of a thriving amateur music scene in the United Kingdom that DISS was originally founded. In the late twentieth century, Finnegan's seminal investigation of 'hidden musicians' explored the variety of musical activities in one British town, where music was not confined to specialists and important institutions, but

[was] the pursuit of thousands upon thousands of grass-roots musicians, the not very expert as well as the expert, still learning as well as accomplished, quarrelling as well as harmonious – a whole cross-section [...] of ordinary people engaged in music.

Finnegan, 1989; 9

In the three decades since the publication of this study, music-making by 'ordinary' people has been extensively researched; examples include Pitts' wide-ranging studies of amateur participation and lifelong musical habits (Pitts, 2004; 2005a; 2009; 2012; Pitts et al., 2015; Pitts and Robinson, 2016; Pitts 2017), investigations of choral singing (Durrant & Himonides, 1998; Richards & Durrant, 2003; Durrant 2005; Einarsdottir & Gudmundsdottir, 2016), and the role of music in the lives of older amateurs (Taylor & Hallam, 2008; Taylor, 2010a; Taylor & Hallam, 2011).

Universally, residents from an amateur pathway at DISS spoke of their love of making music, alongside a sense of personal fulfilment and musical engagement. These interviewees were broadly representative of the musicians Finnegan and others portray, being in most cases regular members of choirs, orchestras or chamber groups. They referred to many roles within these activities, with some acting as musical leaders or coordinators. Many belonged to several groups, ranging from formally organised large orchestras, choirs or concert bands to more informal chamber music gatherings. In some cases, there was a crossover between these regular groups and music-making at DISS. Finding ways to describe the standard of the groups to which they belonged was important for respondents; they referred to aspects such as selection through auditions, group size, types of repertoire or performance venues, or having a professional conductor. Church and community music making played a role for many people, and some who would categorise themselves as 'amateurs' did engage in some paid musical activity such as teaching or leading a group. Musical performance was an important part of their musical lives, either as solo or ensemble performers or as regular audience members at concerts in their local area. Coming together at DISS allows residents from an amateur pathway to make music in a way which may correspond or contrast with this 'everyday' experience.

Creech et al (2013), in their exploration of the role of music-making in the lives of older people, identified the significance of the purpose and structure of regular music-making, discussing

the notion that music-making provided structure in daily and weekly routines and that it was the medium through which participants worked towards goals and acquired new skills.

Creech et al., 2013; 42

In contrast to this regular amateur music-making activity, DISS is temporary and time-bound; this may have an impact on the experience of the attendee who is more accustomed to this kind of regular musical experience. Working towards goals and acquiring new skills is though very important to many DISS residents, as will be explored later. Weekly attendance also has a social function, which for many members of regular groups may be an important motivation for participating, as with the members of the choir in my pilot study (Keene, 2015). This may not always be the case; Pitts (2017) found that participants in her study of amateur musicians stated that the rehearsal format limited opportunities for social interaction – ‘you get there, say hello, play, good-night, and then you go home!’ (165). In this scenario, DISS could be seen to provide a useful antidote, with its residential and intensive nature allowing for greater interaction between music-makers, and the possibility of a shared sense of ‘belonging’ to Dartington. The cyclical nature of attendance provides a counterpart to the routine of a weekly rehearsal, giving glimpses into the social and musical lives of others on an annual rather than a weekly basis. Pitts et al. (2015) found that factors enabling continued musical participation in amateur music ensembles included: the security of ‘good enough’ playing (being able to play well enough for the chosen group), finding an ensemble that confirmed or broadened musical preferences, enjoyment and confidence in performance, escape from other commitments and problems such as health issues, the extent to which rehearsals were energising, the friendship and camaraderie of rehearsals, and playing as a way of staying young and active (26). DISS provides an environment in which all these factors are present and findings from the data suggest similar reasons for continuing to attend regularly.

Alongside the routine and group collaboration afforded by participation in amateur music activities, another important feature is the ‘serious’ attitude of many participants, explored in detail by Stebbins (2007), with his concept of ‘serious leisure’, defined as

the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a (leisure) career centred on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience.

Stebbins, 2007; 5

For many residents who might be described as following an amateur pathway, attending DISS forms part of a concerted effort to improve their musical skills, as was seen with Stella earlier on. Donald, who occasionally conducts an amateur choir, had come to DISS with the specific intention of observing as many choral conductors as possible:

I've come with a definite purpose and I'm making notes every day of my experience and what I'm learning from them so I don't forget it when I go back, and there are various things that I've never heard before, quite a lot I've heard before, quite a lot of how to introduce it which I've learned.

Donald, older resident

Even when residents do not have such clearly articulated reasons for attending, learning is often taken seriously. Many residents have significant musical knowledge, as evidenced in this observation of a harpsichord class:

First person to play – spends a long time introducing his piece. 'What I'm going to play is moving from C minor to the relative major E flat [...] This is quite unlike the C minor that I played two days ago. Whereas that was contrapuntal almost like a fugue, this is like a duet for two voices in the right hand with lower accompanying bass of quite a different character. And it's also interesting and challenging because there are two different versions of it – there's a plain version which is what I tackled first and which, he writes little ornamentation, but also suggest, suggesting to me that it moves at a certain pace. Then I turned the page and found the ornamented version which is Bach's own ornaments.

Harpsichord Class, 7.8.13

In my observations of taught sessions, I often commented that people were taking notes on what the tutor was saying, and I also observed people notating exercises that were given as a warm-up in a class. Renee described participating in a vocal ensemble:

[The tutor] gave us some hints of how to perhaps improve our ability to pick up intervals and pitch them correctly, and some exercises, so that was good, I was busy writing down his ideas.

Renee, older resident

In Alan's diary, he frequently reflects on his learning, often making comparisons to his work as a classroom teacher of music and relating new ideas to his existing knowledge:

Jazz piano session today is on Bill Evans and [the tutor] has a video on his iPad. Bill looks so unassuming and so scholarly. Understand more about his huge significance in the jazz world now. Other insights come through the class today and I feel much clearer about the altered chords/altered scale etc. Also about rootless voicings. I think if I go back to the to the Mark Levine [jazz theory] book now things might make a lot more sense.

Alan, older resident, DD

Music-making at DISS for those on an amateur pathway can be seen therefore as a parallel to their everyday musical lives in terms of the sense of belonging, musical satisfaction, and 'serious leisure' approach to their activities. It also offers many opportunities for contrasting experiences, as has been alluded to above and will be explored in more detail later. For now, I move to a discussion of the professional and aspiring professional pathway.

Aspiring professional and professional musical pathways

Many DISS residents are at some point on the trajectory of becoming a professional musician. Interviewees in this category described their training and lives as orchestral players, conductors, chamber musicians, soloists and teachers. Their experiences provide a good exemplification of the broad challenges faced by those whose main source of income is music, and echo the findings of a wealth of research in this area, including Cottrell's (2004) seminal study of the lives of professional musicians in London and subsequent investigations into the lives of working musicians by Bennett (2008), Dobson (2011), and Coulson (2012), amongst others. There are many aspects

to the life of a professional musician which cannot all be explored in detail here; my discussion is focused therefore on the themes which were most common in my data. I continue my discussion of the professional musical pathway by considering conservatoires, the protean career, and the role of teaching.

Conservatoires

Gaunt (2008, 2011) discusses limitations of the conservatoire, identifying a disconnect between the one-to-one teaching relationship and the needs of the profession. As Wöllner and Ginsborg state, most conservatoire graduates will not find themselves working as soloists, but collaborating with

colleagues from a wide range of backgrounds who are likely to hold diverse views on style, interpretation and even technique. Students should thus have the opportunity to be exposed to a variety of approaches, to acquire collaborative skills and to engage in critical dialogue.

Wöllner & Ginsborg, 2011; 302

Perkins (2013a) states that there is a discrepancy between the privileging of highly specialised skills in the conservatoire learning cultures, and the flexibility required in the professions for which students are being prepared. This perspective is substantiated by Juuti and Littleton (2012), who describe the work of conservatoire graduates as ‘not limited to the unique interpretation of pieces of music, but also the agentic brokering of new musical engagements and forms through acting as a viable subject in a social life’ (7). Weller (2008) identifies harsh contrasts between ‘music school culture’ – maximising talent by spending hours alone in a practice room, specialising to make the most of abilities and talents, and achieving success by practising, performing and studying diligently – and ‘music world culture’ – networking, relationship building, ‘wearing many hats’, and creating your own definition of success. The discrepancy between the traditional conservatoire preparation for a career as a musical performer and the likely trajectory of everyday working life for the music graduate has been widely documented (Mills, 2004a;

Bennett, 2007; Bennett, 2008; Bennett & Freer, 2012), and was commented on by Douglas:

You could easily get lulled into this world where everything that happens in college is the - like there's certain players who are the really great ones and there's those players that do chamber music and those players that do orchestral stuff, but that's not really a proper picture of what things are going to be like afterwards because invariably everyone who goes to music college can't become a great soloist afterwards.

Douglas, bursary student

Attending DISS may go some way towards providing a bridge between 'music school culture' and 'music world culture' (Weller, 2008). Residents on an aspiring professional pathway are given the opportunity to try out different musical roles, often being given opportunities that they might not receive elsewhere; they 'create their own definition of success' in a DISS context, meet and work with different teachers, and, importantly, encounter musicians from an amateur background, with whom they will inevitably work in some capacity during their professional careers. The uncompetitive atmosphere contrasts with the conservatoire culture described above; Douglas described how this had enabled him to reconnect with his cello playing:

[DISS] was an opportunity to try and reconnect ... It's nice, everyone's been really lovely, the orchestra's really friendly and that makes a big difference whereas I think sometimes on courses you can lose that enjoyment because everybody's a little bit competitive and there's none of that here.

Douglas, bursary student

Lucy and Paul both identified how the student community at a conservatoire is typified by concrete aspiration towards a specific goal, comparing it to the more process-driven approach at DISS:

There's a constant push for improvement and development because they're at the age when we normally expect the most development ... there's a goal, and

the goal is some kind of achievement, it's the BMus and for most of these undergraduates it's the beginning of a professional life in music.

Lucy, tutor

[Music college is] more focussed on specific goals, definitely, and more orientated towards an end product whereas here it's more about enjoying the process.

Paul, orchestra member

Perkins' (2013a) case study of one UK conservatoire identifies four intertwined areas of the 'learning culture': specialism and the privileging of the development of performers, social and professional networking and the acquisition of 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1977) through being proactive and independent, musical hierarchies and the relational positioning of students, with the associated status of musical 'favourites', and vocational position taking, shaping the professional possibilities available to individual students. Aspects of this environment are present at DISS, but it also provides a contrasting 'learning culture', where different people are favourites and new opportunities are opened up.

Protean careers

Twenty-first century music careers are 'protean' (Bennett & Freer, 2012), involving many different types of paid activity (Bennett, 2008; Bennett & Freer, 2012), as described by Daphne, for whom DISS reflects Weller's (2008) characterisation of 'music world culture' and reinforces the necessity and value of a diverse, fluid approach to music-making:

Now that I've graduated and I'm working, and earning money as a musician, you sort of have to be versatile - that's partly why I think this course is good because it shows that people can be one minute learning how to samba and then the next singing in the chamber choir, then whatever, learning their oboe - I like that because that's actually, now that I'm working in the world all the time I need to be able to do a few different things to a fairly good standard, not

even a great standard but I feel that I can do them a bit ... Just being able to be adaptable, and the principles of learning anything are the same no matter what it is and you just transfer them to whatever it is you have to learn. So I'm spending my time with a mix of teaching, singing - either concerts or recordings - and composition and film scores ... it's good, it's a varied life and I like the fact that Dartington reflects what actually happens in the profession, that you have to do lots of different things.

Daphne, younger resident

This requirement for flexibility may create tension between artistic, aesthetic or vocational integrity and the need to earn a living (Bradshaw, McDonagh, & Marshall, 2006; Coulson, 2010), exacerbated by an obligation to accept any available musical work. Finding work is not always easy, as evidenced by this wry observation:

In the bar, I overhear a baroque orchestra player saying 'I'm not used to this, I'm used to the 'freelance' (air quotes gesture) lifestyle of not doing any work.'

FN, 30.7.12

Helen also discussed the fragility of the freelance career, this time with relation to the potential financial sacrifices for aspiring professionals attending DISS:

The problem with working freelance is if you're working in a normal job you get a certain amount of weeks of paid holiday ... but for us you have to take the work when it comes and if you turn down the work then you turn down the money, and that's one of the problems of freelance [work].

Helen, bursary student

This harsh financial reality contrasts starkly to the approach of the DISS residents for whom music is purely a leisure activity, and attending constitutes a holiday, an issue which will be discussed in the following section.

The need to maintain a flexible career also presents challenges to the musical self-identity; Douglas, who had recently graduated from a conservatoire, referred to the challenges of maintaining a secure identity as a successful musician:

Every time I sat down with [my cello] it kind of felt like ‘oh God this is rubbish’, because since I’ve left music college I’ve kind of not practised and got worse so every time I’d try and sit down and practise - you just want to shoot yourself because it’s sounding awful, you recognise how good you used to be and you’re not that good anymore because you’re not practising.

Douglas, bursary student

In Ascenso and Perkins' (2013) study of professional musicians, they found that

Identity emerged as a central, overarching sustainer of wellbeing [...] a structuring theme for the global accounts of wellbeing in this group was the need to create a self-concept and belief of self-worth that is independent from musical characteristics and achievements.

Ascenso & Perkins, 2013; 385

Douglas’ words indicate the exact opposite of this – for him, his self-esteem seems entirely bound up with his musical capability.

Teaching

A frequently referenced aspect of the ‘protean’ career was the role played by instrumental and vocal teaching. Whilst Murray and Hall (2011) propose that ‘being an artist is inevitably a hyphenated function’, referring to the ‘artist-teacher’ (58), Cottrell (2004;11) found that professional musicians who self-identified as making their living from ‘paid musical production’ did not include teaching, even at conservatoire level, in their definition of ‘work’. However, teaching provides a significant proportion of most professional musicians’ income, reflecting a disparity between their perception of how they want to work and the reality of their day-to-day existence (Bennett, 2008). Tutors at DISS represented a continuum of teaching and performing activity; amongst those I interviewed, Timothy and Dominic, who do not teach outside DISS, represent one extreme, and Philip, Dylan and Rhona, whose main musical role is teaching in schools

or for music services, represent the opposite.²⁷ Jane, Natalie and Megan, amongst many others, are positioned at a mid-point, combining performing careers with regular teaching. Dominic viewed teaching as separate from performing and his development as a player:

[Teaching] requires a certain type of world view that I don't have ... the desire to nurture other people and help them along when in fact you should be looking after your own issues ... It's an emotional drain in some ways – if I want to give myself this chance to sort of develop as much as I can within whatever my capacities are, [it means] giving people time that I would otherwise devote to myself ... Of course, it also means that when I do teach on the off chance, of course I can give everything then, because it's not my agenda, not my habit, so I can afford to throw myself completely into it.

Dominic, tutor

My observations of Dominic's teaching substantiate his evaluation of his capacity to immerse himself in teaching; he demonstrated considerable prowess at combining the technical, musical and physical elements of teaching the violin, tailoring his teaching to individual and the group needs, with only one throwaway comment belying how he perceived the teacher persona - 'I'm starting to sound like the 50 year old teachers who used to annoy me when I was young' (Violin workshop 2).

Dominic and Timothy both considered teaching to be a vocation, separate from performing; others suggested that teaching is a necessary part of the musician's career, co-existing with and informing performance:

The teaching informs the performing – teaching forces me to think about the music ... if I was only a performer I wouldn't be forced to think as much as I am, because of the teaching.

Natalie, tutor

²⁷ 'Music services' in the UK are publicly funded providers of individual and ensemble music tuition, in schools and in Saturday music centres.

[Teaching] makes you a much better performer as well, but I really like it... I mean obviously it is a lovely reliable way of making money, but I would want to do it anyway – even if I had enough performances not to have to do anything else I'd still want to teach.

Jane, tutor

This perception of a symbiotic performer-teacher relationship may be related to greater experience, as well as being further advanced in a musical career; both Timothy and Dominic were young players at the start of a professional career focused on performing, whereas Natalie and Jane were more established in their musical choices.

This brief overview of the amateur and professional pathways upon which DISS residents find themselves serves to illustrate the diversity of musical backgrounds, identities and 'locations' which are represented by the DISS community. Becoming a part of this melting-pot may serve to reinforce or reformulate existing musical self-identities; in many cases, a 'Dartington identity' is formed.

Dartington Identity

The adaptation of a Dartington identity is facilitated by several factors; DISS' status as a site for leisure activity, its separation from the 'real world', the mix of residents, and long-term participation. It is both individual and collective; alongside assuming an alternative identity, residents become part of a bigger community which as described above is inextricably linked to the location. Pitts (2004), researching a Gilbert and Sullivan festival, found that for those participating 'music, place and identity were interwoven' (158), a description which could equally be applied to DISS.

A leisure identity

For many residents, DISS represents a summer holiday activity and can be considered therefore through the lens of leisure studies, as discussed in Ruck Keene and Green (2016). Amateur music making plays a significant part in the social and emotional lives of its participants, forming what can be termed a 'leisure identity'. This identity has

come to prominence in recent decades, informed by seismic shifts in the definition of self in relation to career (Salaman, 1974; Grint, 1991), with an increased fragmentation of working life. There has been a transition away from work as 'the centre of the lifelong construction and defence of a man's identity... the main orientation point, in reference to which all other life pursuits could be planned and ordered.' (Bauman, 1998; 17) towards a 'boundaryless career world' (Arthur et al., 2005; 1) suggesting an 'end of work', where the 'degraded and impoverished nature of current and future employment' (Strangleman, 2007; 83) presents significant threats to individual and collective identity. Consequently, leisure has gained prominence in identity formation and self-concept as people seek to prioritize freedom over necessity, and engage in 'trying to find out what matters to them the most, and then to do it [...] whether or not this is a realistic aspiration' (Blackshaw, 2010; xii). Individualized approaches to leisure time (Putnam, 2000) suggest the possibility of transcending limitations such as class or gender:

What the world seems to be saying to men and women today, who now imagine themselves as individuals first and foremost, is this: "forget who you are and if you cannot be who you want to be, imagine that you can".

Blackshaw, 2010; 88

Most leisure pursuits must co-exist though with work, family, or other commitments, and the routines of everyday life. Therefore the identities conferred are temporary and may be suppressed, by choice or necessity, once the activity finishes (Roberts, 2011). Conversely, residential experiences such as DISS allow residents to privilege their leisure identities through an immersive musical experience, physically and psychologically distant from their everyday selves:

Musical participation has been shown to offer an independence from the restricted or pre-determined roles of everyday life, rendered safe by the supportive group context within which such self-exploration takes place.

Pitts, 2005a; 69

While at DISS, individuals can call themselves musicians, like the professional counterparts who, according to Stebbins (2007), define their amateur status. Borsay's (2006) conception of leisure as 'symbol, play and the other' provides a useful framing devices for a consideration of the leisure role played by DISS, and the adaptation of a 'DISS' identity. Borsay suggests that the 'other' in leisure can refer to locations and experiences differing from the everyday. Within these sites, there is a freedom to take risks and behave differently, supported by a conception of leisure activities as 'inconsequential' and separate from real life (Roberts, 2011). This 'otherness' shares characteristics with Bakhtin's (1968) thesis of the 'carnavalesque' as explored above.

For professional and aspiring professional musicians attending DISS, the situation is different. Salaman's (1974) concept of the 'occupational community', defined as concerned with values, beliefs and work-related knowledge, illustrates how professional status may dictate a particular type of relationship between work and non-work, where 'non-work lives are permeated by their work relationships, interests and values... work-friends are their friends outside work and their leisure interests and activities are work based.' (Salaman, 1974; 19). Other members of the community act as their 'reference group' – a key tenet of symbolic interactionism – and are viewed as 'the only other people who are really capable of judging their work performance or understanding their problems' (Salaman, 1974; 25). There is an attendant sense of isolation arising from membership of these communities which also form the basis of their members' social networks, including after-work activities and hobbies. This isolation can also be derived from the 'restrictive factors' (Salaman, 1974; 35) which limit these individuals' opportunity to interact with other members of society. Work may occur at times when others are at rest, limiting therefore the capacity for social interaction with those outside the occupational community. In such occupations, the workers' attitude towards their work involves an intrinsic satisfaction derived from the capacity to make use of their skills; in this sense, it is the converse of an 'instrumental' attitude towards work, in which it is seen merely as a means to an end.

Parallels can be drawn between the professional music world and Salaman's model of occupational community, even though it is now forty years old, a link he makes himself in discussing research into jazz musicians undertaken by Becker (1963) and Merriam and Mack (1960). An important similarity comes from the 'limiting factors' drawing members of an occupational community together; performing

musicians are constrained by unsociable hours and the need to travel frequently, which leads to a particular social culture. Dobson (2011), in her study of jazz and string players, found that both groups, while valuing their diverse and flexible working lives, reported a sense of alienation from 'real life' (245). She also highlights the extent to which alcohol consumption defines group membership and is a norm of occupational behaviour, forming a key aspect of the 'professional sociability' (248) required both to increase and retain work opportunities. Whiting and Hannam's (2015) study of the creative practices of musicians in the North East of England found that distinctions between work and leisure were unclear for many professionals (Whiting & Hannam, 2015), as many of those who defined themselves as musicians in some professional contexts continued creative practices in their leisure time as well, often in alternative art-forms.

The following two extracts illustrate how DISS can provide an antidote to some of the problems of leisure for the professional musician identified above. Residency facilitates leisure time together, as described here:

In the afternoon, I see the orchestra playing croquet on the lawn and the singers playing cards around a table.

FN, 10.8.12

Jack talked about how attending DISS had been a bonding experience for the professional chamber choir he directs:

Socially it was also an excellent opportunity for the group which was then fairly newly formed – they were able to go to the beach together, watch cricket together, socialise together.

Jack, tutor²⁸

Sometimes DISS has the opposite effect; a professional guitarist commented to me, as he showed off the seven-string guitar he was trying for the first time, 'I've come here to relax and ended up doing more playing than I normally would!' (FN, 12.8.12).

²⁸ See note in Appendix 1 regarding the format of this quotation.

This type of opportunity is also described by Jane, reflecting on how the time and space afforded by DISS allows her to attend concerts as an audience member:

I think it's lovely that there are so many concerts and there are so many different things, so you go to, because I go, as a performer you learn so much from the other artists, because you actually think 'I'd love to play that', or you learn new repertoire – who was I talking to the other day, one of the other artists, and they were saying that you go to more concerts here than you do in the whole year, because they're here, you've got the time in the evening to do so – and you never get time!

Jane, tutor

In both these examples, the experience of the professional musician overlaps with that of the more amateur resident of DISS, as they are given the opportunity and time to explore and learn more about themselves as musicians. For some professional musicians though, their time at DISS does not differ significantly from their everyday working lives; those who are there as accompanists working with instrumental and vocal tutors provide the best example of this, as in Matthew's description:

This week I've had the most ridiculous week ... I've been working three sessions, but last week with the morning session I was doing double basses and violas and they didn't really need much – [the tutor] was just doing his thing on his contemporary studies, which were all unaccompanied, so I had lots of time to practise in the mornings without it being exhausting and just sort of have a bit of a wander around occasionally and pop into other things.

Matthew, accompanist

A lifetime at DISS

As well as serving as a 'leisure' space, for many residents DISS' consistent presence across the life span, the music heard and made there, and the friendships facilitated, grant it a unique status in their lives.

Dartington's been an absolutely key and central place to me, both musically and I have to say personally.

Lucy, tutor

DISS occurs regularly but only once a year, providing a 'still point in the turning world' (Eliot, 1943) and a reference point for its residents, where 'time is always folded' (Latour, 2005; 201). Lucy, cited above, described how, after first visiting DISS as a student, she had revisited it throughout her professional life, and had even met both her husbands there. Kate referred to how her relationship with music-making had changed over the period of her attendance:

Yes, I sing in the choir and I like to play quartets, I play the violin - and the concerts, and sometimes now I'm older, I like to have a rest at some point in the day, I can't keep going non-stop as I used to – I mean when we were younger after the concert we'd play a bit more, somewhere where we weren't disturbing anybody.

Kate, older resident

The relationship between music, with its distinctively temporal nature, and time is complex. Frith (1996) draws on both Stravinsky and Blacking to conclude that music

enables us to experience time aesthetically, intellectually, *and* physically in new ways [...] music is essentially *about* time and its meaning [...] [it] allows us to stop time, while we consider how it passes.

Frith, 1996; 149

Frith here is referring specifically to the movement of music through time as measured by rhythm, but it seems to apply equally to attending DISS, as described by Ethan:

Having two weeks somewhere that you can relax and that you feel makes you think differently – makes you feel in a completely different way to the rest of the year, it has an incredibly powerful impact over the rest of the year –

especially ... if you can have it as a regular thing, like a marker that you can sort use to check how you're feeling.

Ethan, orchestra member

Hesmondhalgh (2013) identifies how 'music can *heighten people's awareness of continuity and development in life*' (53), and as Ethan says, attending DISS allows a connection and re-connection with a particular way of being. It creates a 'Dartington identity', co-existing and occasionally intertwining with the everyday self and re-discovered each year. Frith (1996) references the *Confessions* of St Augustine in stating that 'our sense of time depends on the mind performing three functions, "those of expectation, attention, and memory."' (150). Juxtaposing this analysis with the idea of the past, present and future self mentioned above gives insight into how the presence of DISS in residents' lives might interweave with their personal narratives, as their present experiences, framed as expectation and attention, are coloured by the memory of their previous real and potential musical selves.

The location which enables the alternative self becomes then very significant; as for the participants in a Gilbert and Sullivan festival studied by Pitts (2004), 'music, place and identity [are] interwoven' (158):

You have an intense week here, new friendships, new creative musical experiences, you go to a load of concerts here with music you've never heard before, whole new things are opened up and suddenly your connection to the instrument is afterwards changed, because you've got, it's tied up suddenly with a whole load of these resonances, memories and personal connections.

Gordon, tutor

The alternative identity found at DISS creates a close correlation between the place and the surrogate self, which affords it great significance and engenders loyalty to the location. Silberman Keller (2006) identifies how sites for non-formal learning often take on the characteristics of a 'second home', a quality DISS held by for many long-term residents.

Returning to DISS also brings people into sharp contrast with their younger selves in ways that can conflate changes in their broader identity with how they feel about DISS. Sonul, once a DCA student and now a tutor, encapsulated this perspective:

It does feel really different... for me the feeling of the place has changed a lot, there's a lot more rules here than there used to be, you can't, it's just different, I don't want to sound bitter – it's just, I feel very sad about it actually. I think that the place has become a lot stiffer and the arty, slightly off the wall thing has disappeared and it disappeared long ago – so when I was a student, I had kind of long lunches sitting outside the White Hart with my bare feet like a hippy kid, playing whistle with a friend playing mandolin, and people were sitting all over the grass, and it was just this big loungey kind of mess of people, and there was this kind of slightly upper class thing, kind of strand running through it, but there was room for everybody, and now ... it just feels a bit more kind of stiff, there were lots of love affairs that went on and it was kind of quite romantic – but it felt different. But it is different, I'm married with kids, so of course I don't expect to be still experiencing those things, but the vibe was different.

Sonul, tutor

DISS' long-term presence in the lives of many residents grant it a unique status, acting as it does as both touchstone of change and 'still point'. Hesmondhalgh (2013) describes how the associations between music and memory– can mean that 'for older people, music can be powerfully evocative of loss as well as continuity' (2013; 53). Music such as the summer camp songs described by Zanes (2005) can both transport us back to an earlier time and remind us of everything that has changed since then; Sonul's commentary embodies this sense of nostalgia, continuity and change, whilst also bringing to life the carnivalesque 'other world' referred to above and touching on the tension between 'upper class' attitudes towards music making and DISS as being 'for everyone', which will be discussed in Chapter 9.

An alternative identity

Pitts, in her consideration of the COMA summer school, identifies the possibility of assuming a temporary musical identity for the period of attendance which may be entirely disconnected from everyday life (Pitts, 2005a); DISS offers a similar capacity for an alternative identity. The arrival each week of a new group of residents gives many opportunities for residents to present their musical selves through introductions; an example from the first meeting of a medieval music class illustrates both the diversity of DISS participants and the information that people choose to share. The participants were asked to share 'names and where you've come from, and the most surprising thing that's happened or that you've noticed at Dartington this year - the most surprising, notable, funny, whimsical thing':

'I'm J. - I'm from London and I play piano and organ and this morning I just happened upon the clarinet group playing under the (Latin name) tree – it's just so lovely to see that sort of thing, you don't often see a bass clarinet.'

'I'm A. and I'm from Kingston on Thames and I've just finished a music degree and the funny thing that I've experienced was at dinner last night [tells story about the lady and the cream]'

'I'm Y. and I'm from Australia – I went to Westminster Abbey and I was expecting all the boys [in the choir] to walk down the aisle and I suddenly saw all my colleagues walking down the aisle from Sydney Conservatoire, the people that I sing with every day'

'I'm D. - these days I live in Dubai' [talking about the blue skies and the green hurting his eyes]

Medieval music, 24.7.12

This snapshot gives insight into how people present themselves; J. chooses to refer to herself by mentioning the instrument she plays, whilst A. defines himself by having just finished a music degree; both statements situate them firmly as a particular type of

musician. Y's approach is more oblique – rather than stating initially that she is a conservatoire student, she recounts how she came across 'the people that I sing with every day' in the prestigious surroundings of Westminster Abbey. This anecdote is notable both because it is not associated directly with DISS, in contrast to the tutor's request and the observations shared by others, and because by choosing to recount how her 'colleagues' are singing in a prestigious venue, Y. vicariously assumes a similar status. D. chooses not to mention anything about himself as a musician, referring instead to the outside surroundings and the contrast to everyday life.

Kathy, who works as an administrator in a conservatoire, explained how the opportunity to meet 'on an even ground' at DISS, allowed for a different identity to the one she assumes in her professional life:

It can be quite daunting if you're with music students and they know that you work at a music college, they assume that you're musically trained, so it can be a bit daunting – but if you meet them on an even ground, as it were, and they don't know your background, it's much easier.

Kathy, older resident

The capacity therefore that DISS offers to present a different, partial or alternative version of the self can be liberating and begin to break down barriers between people who in everyday life might perceive themselves to be very different.

For some people though, immersion in an alternative musical life may highlight opportunities that are lacking elsewhere. Ella studied music at university level, but due to her remote home location no longer had access to classical music-making or performances. Her time at DISS, surrounded by music, reminded her what was missing in her everyday life:

It's just mind blowing ... for where I live, to see something like this – you'll see it once a year, twice a year. To have the opportunity to see three concerts in a day some days is just, my mind cannot comprehend it, it's just amazing – such a privilege for me. I think for me it's very, the experience is very different from other people who have come because I'm so thirsty for this, I know that in a week I'll be home and I will not have any of this.

Ella, younger resident

Caroline also talked about the contrast to regular music experiences, and how singing in the choir at DISS highlighted the difference in standard to her regular choral activity:

The whole thing I really enjoy about Dartington is being able to come here and sing with people who sing well, in tune, and can sight read so you can just get down to things, you can learn a huge amount in an hour and a half. Now in my own choir, when we get back to the next rehearsal half the choir have forgotten what we learned the previous week ... I find those rehearsals so tedious because the music we're doing I could learn in half a dozen rehearsals, so to come to Dartington and do that, to learn something that I've never sung before, that I'm not likely to sing at home, and to sing it to a really good standard in a very short time...

Caroline, older resident

Rhona, who originally attended DISS as an amateur participant, was present as a tutor in 2013. Both during my observation of her class and in her interview, she defined herself not as a professional performer but as a teacher and a chamber musician. During her interview though, when I asked her about her most memorable experiences at DISS, she referred to a once-in-a-lifetime experience, playing with the resident professional string quartet:

At the end of the week they very kindly let me play through the Schubert Quintet with them just for fun, and that was the most amazing musical experience of my life I have to say because I do a lot of quartet playing anyway, back in [my home town], I play in two string quartets regularly, but it's quite unusual to find even one or two musicians on exactly the same musical wavelength as oneself, I mean, and to find four, just mind-bogglingly unlikely.

Rhona, older resident

Rhona does not categorise herself as a professional performer; but on this occasion, she was given the opportunity to play alongside those who do, bringing her together with people 'on the same musical wavelength' as her, something she usually struggles to find. The language she uses - 'they very kindly let me play through' - indicates her

perception of a difference in status between herself and the professional performers; and her identification of the difficulty of finding people of this calibre to play with normally reinforces an absence in her everyday life. Tabitha also talked about a feeling of fellowship with DISS residents:

It's really nice to meet loads of people who really understand the music and also like if I talk to my friends about playing the recorder they just take the piss so badly, like 'you're two years old, you can't play anything', but here obviously like it's taken seriously which is really nice.

Tabitha, teenage resident

For a teenage attendee like Tabitha, DISS provides the opportunity to come into contact with those whose identity she aspires to share, or concretisations of a possible musical self. Feeling accepted and 'taken seriously' reinforces her sense of 'music in identity' (Hargreaves et al. 2002), allows her to feel more secure about her musical tastes, and may influence her future musical decisions. This contrasts with Ella and Rhona, who are both older and therefore may feel they do not have as many opportunities open to them – so the feeling of being 'at home' at DISS may serve more to reinforce a lack than to open up a possibility.

Experiences at DISS can also challenge a secure musical identity. Marit, who elsewhere in her interview described how she regularly performs as a soloist in her home town in the Netherlands, described a disappointing experience of auditioning for the chamber choir:

[After the audition, the conductor] was really very pleased about my singing so I had my impression, oh, I'm in that chamber choir, but of course there were hundreds of people behind me or something like that, and I wasn't it, and it was really a disappointment ... but I know from Dartington that you mustn't put your expectations too high, for otherwise you could be disappointed for sometimes you think you are going to do something and then suddenly, suddenly you are not asked, not selected.

Marit, older resident

So in this instance, Marit's musical self-esteem and self-concepts are challenged by rejection from a selective group, despite her pragmatic understanding that at DISS 'you mustn't put your expectations too high.' Elsewhere in her interview, Marit described how she had not considered a career as a professional singer, despite performing professionally as a child, because she had not realised that it was a possibility that was open to her:

I did sing but I didn't realise that you could do it as a profession...I didn't realise it for I wanted so much doing scientific things that... well singing was just what you did also, but not for a, well later in life people asked me always...

Marit, older resident

For Marit, like Ella, attending DISS highlights an absence in her everyday life, illustrating how a relationship with music-making which she had never even considered as possible is definitively closed to her; furthermore, whilst in her usual music-making spheres she holds a position of security, frequently appearing as a soloist, in this capacity she is someone who can be selected or rejected as the DISS institution sees fit. Exposure to an (im)possible musical self – in the form of the professional musician – and a flavour of the selective status of this musical world, through being rejected from a chamber choir, can serve therefore to challenge a secure musical identity. These questions of identity – temporary, alternative, cyclical, snowball – will reoccur throughout the following chapters, and their relationships to teaching and learning, performing, listening, and musical dialogues will be discussed.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter has discussed the relationship between DISS and identity, related to the previous and future life stories of its residents. Situated within a conception of identity as relational and fluid, attending DISS allows for reinvention with reference to constructs of self-system, self-concept, and self-esteem. DISS residents may define themselves musically with relation to others and to broader concepts of being a musician. Musical identity as well as status can also be projected and constructed through learning and praxial engagement in group music-making. These framings are

contextualised by the amateur and professional musical pathways that residents follow before and around their DISS attendance. A 'DISS identity' adopted cyclically over periods of residence may support or contrast with a 'leisure identity'; attending DISS may reflect, develop, challenge or disrupt a stable musical identity. Long-term attendance at DISS leads to its role as a consistent point in the progress of residents' lives.

Thinking devices

- If this 'second life' (Bakhtin, 1968) can only exist for participants during the time they are physically at DISS, it can serve to highlight absences in everyday musical lives.
- Attending DISS may add an extra layer to the 'snowball self' (Smith, 2013), or may create a version of the self which can only exist at DISS.

Chapter 5: Learning to play musical ‘parts’: transmitting the score

There are as many ways of transmitting, teaching, and learning music as there are musics (Jorgensen, 1997). Nevertheless, the formal, informal, non-formal and ‘non-Western’ typologies of music pedagogy are commonly used to analyse approaches to music-making, and will be used as lenses to consider musical teaching, learning and transmission in the first part of this chapter. This discussion of pedagogical approaches will inform Chapter 6, in which the roles of teacher and learner at DISS will be analysed in more detail and with relation to the specific teaching and learning community in residence. Since music at Dartington is largely transmitted through notation, my analysis of musical transmission also considers the use of musical scores, which tend to be a point of reference for music-making at DISS. I will consider how scores are used where relevant, and the effects of their absence, or near absence, on DISS participants where this is the case.

Formal, informal, non-formal and ‘non-Western’ typologies of musical learning

Learning in the classical music tradition was once perceived as limited to ‘sequenced, methodical exposure to music teaching within a formal setting’ (Folkestad, 2006; 135), but research into informal learning over the last two decades (Green, 2002; 2008) has illustrated that music learning can happen anywhere and at any point in the life course (Dabback, 2008). Merriam (1964) encompasses the whole of this process of musical learning within the term ‘enculturation’, an idea shared by Green (2002). He divides the process into three stages: socialization (social learning in the early years of life), education (equipping individuals to take their place in society through both formally and informally directed learning) and schooling (‘restricted’ (146), specific, and specialised in location and delivery). Jorgensen (1997) presents an alternative model in which enculturation, founded in the relationship between music and its culture, is one of five categories of musical learning; the others are schooling (socially located and motivated), training (procedural knowledge and practices), socialization (inculcation of beliefs, values and mores in the members of social groups), and education (a lifelong process involved in bringing out the individual’s potential). Jorgensen’s more flexible approach seems applicable to the learner experience at DISS, which offers many

opportunities to explore alternative and new versions of each of the categories of learning she identifies. Aspects of musical learning from each of these perspectives will be considered in this and the subsequent chapter; I begin the discussion by examining formal, informal, non-formal and non-Western pedagogical approaches.

Formal teaching and learning

Broadly speaking, formal teaching and learning takes place in schools, universities and colleges or through private instrumental tuition at home; for many DISS residents it informs the majority of their past and present music-making experiences. Formal teaching is planned, intentional, and may or may not result in the desired learning. Learners may aspire to achieve mastery through sequenced and assessed activities, with clear progression to accreditation and expertise. In the UK, this type of teaching has traditionally focused on the classical music canon, with notation therefore playing a central role. There is an element of competition with peers which may be exemplified in results of formal testing. Ownership over the process resides with the teacher; although the learner might be considered to own the end product concerning musical skills learned, content and delivery is determined by the teacher in hierarchical relationships with the learner.

Much of the musical transmission at DISS has its roots in a formal teaching approach, given the prevalence of the classical canon and background of many of the residents (both teachers and learners). As will be seen later though, pedagogy at DISS often combines aspects of formal, informal and non-formal approaches; observed instances of formal teaching methods in their most conventional form were rarer. It is notable that when these were seen, they were delivered by tutors whose everyday music lives were located in a school environment. These formal approaches were observed in terms of relationships with the learners, attitudes towards the 'breaking down' of musical learning, and concepts of assessment.

Although teaching in a group situation, Dylan's approach seemed closer to the individual instrumental lesson which plays a significant role in his musical working life. I considered that his class was conducted as

...very much a lesson – all directed towards the pupils not the group although some comments are directed more to the group. Very clear ideas about what to say – talking about phrasing/articulation etc. Quite instructive re how to do it.

Clarinet workshop, 21.8.13

In addressing his observations ‘towards the pupils’ and adopting an ‘instructive’ approach to pedagogy, Dylan situates his teaching firmly in the formal approach which characterises his regular teaching work. Rhona, teaching a sight-reading class aimed at developing notation skills for adult learners, had adopted a structured, formal approach to the planning and delivery of her course; worksheets were used and referred back to, her session clearly had a pre-formed plan, and the learning of each member of the group was encouraged through the use of games and exercises requiring everyone to participate. Again, she spends her professional life working within the formal education system, and this would appear to have informed her teaching of this course. I myself participated in a composition course intended for school music teachers; my field notes following the final session observe that

We go through the list of what we wanted to achieve in the week to see if we’d made any progress – most people agree that we’ve met all the objectives we wanted to.

FN, 2.8.12

This level of formal reflection on progress, though typical of formal pedagogical approaches, was unfamiliar to me in a DISS context, although would have been very familiar to the course participants – and perhaps also to the tutor, whose regular professional role was as a teacher of composition in a conservatoire.

As well as informing pedagogical approaches, a primarily ‘formal’ musical background appeared to influence perspectives on the purposes of music education. Both Philip and Dylan work primarily with young people in school environments and perceived an important aspect of their role as ‘steering’ young people towards an appropriate musical career, alongside instilling a lifelong love of music-making:

They're not necessarily professional musicians in the making because some of them go off to do other things – so you're part of the process that helps them sort of discover themselves musically, or that music is perhaps something to be kept as a hobby for them.

Philip, tutor

There are some who are just doing it for fun and that's got its own challenges to ... make them enthusiastic about playing in the hope that they'll stick with their playing all the way through their life, even if they're a doctor or a banker or whatever it might be, that they can have a lot of social interaction with other musicians and enjoy a wide range of repertoire.

Dylan, tutor

Although described in a formal school context, this attitude towards teaching is perhaps closest to what is appropriate at DISS, where tutors juggle varied aspirations amongst learners, but the majority of residents represent the adult embodiment of the lifelong musical habits Philip and Dylan seek to foster. This consideration of the future musical lives of learners reflects the sequenced, assessed characteristics of formal learning detailed above.

Informal teaching and learning

Informal learning is not timetabled or necessarily associated with specific physical contexts, exemplified recently by the spaces for learning enabled by online music sharing and co-creation (Waldron, 2012; Kenny, 2013; Kladder, 2016). It is 'sociable' learning, which might occur even in the broader framework of a formal learning situation; Green (2002) highlights the importance of friendship relationships in informal learning amongst young popular musicians. It is guided by interactions between those making music and is holistic in its approach to repertoire (Green, 2002), often starting from the 'whole piece' rather than systematically breaking down the musical elements and techniques required. In popular music, folk and jazz settings, notation is rarely used; informal classical music-making may or may not use notation. Ownership resides with the group and its members; this is particularly important

regarding repertoire selection where choices are guided entirely by the group (Green, 2002). Learning may occur as a function of a broader social or musical situation, rather than being the intended outcome. Veblen (2012) categorises this learning as unsystematic, unpurposeful, incidental, or accidental; I would argue, like Green (2002), that there is more structure than may be immediately apparent in many informal music-making situations, and that the ‘serious leisure’ (Stebbins, 2007) approach of the participants imposes system and structure on individual activities. Informal learning tends to have become associated with musics that are largely or completely transmitted without notation. However, there is no necessary connection – as in fact Green (2014) points out, it is perfectly possible to learn classical music informally, and without notation, and equally possible to learn popular music formally, with notation. In each case, the musical product may not be considered ‘authentic’ to the genre in question, but this does not preclude learning in this way.

Much of the learning at DISS is informal or incidental and does involve ear playing. This kind of learning may occur during impromptu music making outside the official course sessions, as described by Alan:

I stay [after the course] to do some jazz practice on the Steinway. C. stays as well and plays through a few numbers on guitar with me. Then he teaches me something about the Pinker Blues chords and the altered scale and modal harmony. There is a lot to take in, but I am really happy for this impromptu session. It helps to build up my jazz confidence.

Alan, older resident, DD

This episode demonstrates how informal learning scenarios often contain characteristics of more formal approaches; both participants show here how a ‘serious leisure’ mentality lends itself to structured teaching and learning of new material in an impromptu session. Alan’s diary often refers to how he continues his music-making between classes; he books practice rooms, finds other people to make music with, and reflects on his learning in various contexts. As a long-term attendee, his approach to musical learning at DISS exemplifies how to capitalise on the formal and informal learning opportunities available. The peer learning enabled by this informal music-making is an important feature of the DISS experience, where learning might consist of

direct peer-to-peer instruction as above, or may occur through more informal exchanges, often simply affirmation through comments on progress made:

Big moment for me today in a voice workshop. My friend said, 'She began to excavate your real voice' in it. [...] Sang again in voice class and 3 people came up to me afterwards to tell me to keep studying' how much they'd enjoyed it etc. Very encouraging – I will try to keep going.

Stella, houseparent, DD

Learning also occurs by listening, either to other course participants being taught, or to performances. In many cases this occurs during taught sessions of courses, but the multiple roles played at DISS means that learners can often also hear their tutors performing during the evening concerts. This leads to a more intense and analytical learning relationship with the repertoire studied, as described by Doreen and Jennifer, in this case with notation being present:

We're working on the Handel sonata that they played so we were watching that very closely and the trio sonata from the Musical Offering, the particular repertoire was particularly interesting, sort of listening out for how are they doing certain things ... it feels like 'oh my gosh we can't play it as well as they did' but we've got lots of ideas.

Doreen, older resident

It was interesting, because we can see the things that they talk to us about, the phrasing and the way that they play as a band together, and also they were doing some of the music we've been working on so it was really nice to hear that played.

Jennifer, younger resident

As Doreen mentioned, differences in musical capability may be highlighted by this scenario, but it also gives residents an opportunity to hear the repertoire they are working on played by those who may be more expert than them. Grace illustrates

another perspective on how working formally with those at a different level can lead to informal learning, as she describes playing in a string quartet:

Two of them were music students and two of us were amateurs, it was interesting, because they were obviously good players but actually it was the first time they'd ever actually been a lead violinist ... there was sort of a few of them getting coached in how to actually be the leader of a group, so that was kind of interesting, the dynamic, you could see that we were all learning something, and they were also contributing titbits as well, sort of how to play and things.

Grace, younger resident

In this scenario, formal and informal learning are blended; the 'music students' who are 'good players' are able to contribute informal technical advice to the 'amateurs', whilst they are also challenged through more formal teaching about the leadership role.

Non-formal teaching and learning

Non-formal teaching and learning occurs in settings such as adult education colleges, community groups, and outreach programmes. Although it may be systematic and planned, the absence of accreditation, assessment processes and regulation is an important differentiation from formal contexts (Veblen, 2012). The musical leader's role is to enable rather than to lead (Mok, 2010), and teaching is not driven by broader policies and programmes but responsive to the particular needs of the learner(s). Teaching and learning is often through oral/aural transmission, with notation as a supportive tool. Participants may focus more on process than product, and their conscious intentions for structured musical learning may vary. When performance plays a role as an outcome, it is concerned more with sharing achievement than inviting criticism. Ownership resides primarily with the learner due to the increased focus on playing music and the voluntary nature of participation (Reddy, 2003, cited in Mok, 2010). Where ownership is at a higher level than the individual, it resides with institutions that are more community than state focused, or with directors that are

answerable to the members of their groups. Mok (2010) identifies community music as an important context for non-formal learning, describing it as lifelong learning that has a dual function of community development and personal growth. Importantly, Mok states that musical teaching and learning in a community context should not be a 'collage' of different music-making practices, but should consider the 'historical, cultural and personal backgrounds of the different musical groups within that community' (71).

In many ways this approach to musical transmission has the most commonality with the teaching and learning taking place at DISS, as will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6, where a DISS pedagogy is considered; the overlap between community music practices and the DISS context will also be examined in Chapter 9 as part of a broader discussion of musical inclusion. There are also many resonances between non-formal approaches and the pedagogies typified by 'non-Western' musics and their transmission, which will now be discussed.

'Non-Western' musics

As Toner and Wild state, 'World music' is 'a marketing category, a bin in your local record store' (Toner & Wild, 2004; 96), relegating the musics of the majority of the world's population to a single category. An alternative definition for these musics is 'non-Western', which risks casting them in an extreme relationship to the 'canon', 'a selective and exclusive tradition that embodies certain values, notably Western ideals and standards of truth and beauty' (Thompson, 2002; 16). I prefer this term however to 'world music', so am using it to refer to gamelan, West African drumming, mbira and samba band courses at DISS, whilst acknowledging that is imperfect in its definition. These musics do not tend to use written notation – and when they do, it is not in the Western classical music tradition.

Non-Western musics were first included at DISS under the influence of Jack Dobbs, Director of Music at DCA and a pioneer in the inclusion of genres beyond classical music in tertiary music programmes.²⁹ Dobbs wanted to open the minds of

²⁹ DCA's first degree programme, a combined course in Music and English instigated in 1967, was the first UK music undergraduate programme to include genres outside Western Art Music as part of the core curriculum; initially sitar and table, building on Dartington's existing connections with India,

British young people to the cultures of those arriving in the country, and to free them from staff notation, thereby enhancing aural and improvisatory skills. Cameron, teaching mbira at DISS, considered that the inclusion of non-Western musics served a similar purpose, reflecting on how it could address the 'elitism' of classical music at DISS:

You look at Dartington International Summer School which is about classical music, it becomes elite as well, but when the Dartington summer school invites people like me and of course [Tony] with his knowledge of Ghanaian, West African drumming, it's saying 'let's accommodate what is in Britain', because mbira is here ... so let's have classical musicians looking at other genres of music, coming from different cultures, and of course classical musicians are human beings like anybody else, they are fascinated by the idea of the mbira and the singing in a different language, so I have to say thank you to Dartington International Summer School, they are accommodating the culture of what is Britain.

Cameron, tutor

His description also contains unconscious acknowledgement of hierarchical relationships between genres; his use of the word 'accommodate' suggests a rather condescending relationship, and the characterisation of the mbira as 'fascinating' seems to suggest an exotic, 'othered', role for his music-making, a tension which will be explored in more detail later.

Dobbs also considered that non-Western musics fitted DCA's ethos of practical music making and music within a community setting, and that playing this music would allow the students to further their understanding of the ways in which it influenced contemporary Western composers. His overall rationale for and expectations from the teaching of non-Western musics encapsulate the debates still prevalent in this area; whether there is something fundamentally different about the role of music in Western and non-Western contexts, and whether 'music' is universal, transcending

through Leonard Elmhirst's work with Tagore and the residency in 1936 of the Uday Shankar dance troupe.

cultural boundaries, or, as suggested by Walker (1996; 6) 'a term developed specifically in the West to signify modern western practices'.

Considering music education from this perspective evokes conflicting responses. Walker (1996) argued powerfully though provocatively that non-Western music simply cannot be considered an equivalent to what is referred to in the classical tradition as 'music' and 'aesthetic'. He considers that to apply a universal conception of 'music' is damaging to pedagogical practice, assuming as it does a corresponding universal aesthetic response 'devoid of socio-cultural embedding' (Walker, 1996; 5). Instead, he suggests that aesthetic responses to music should refer to 'particular cultural artefacts' (ibid., 5) and extends his presentation of the cultural hegemony of a Westernised conception of musical activity to include the term itself, arguing that 'music' should not refer to, for example, the Balinese gamelan, since its socio-cultural role and response in the listener is so far removed from the aesthetic response to classical music developed in the nineteenth century and prevalent today. In making this point, he is building on the work of Blacking (Blacking et al., 1995) amongst others, who presented the notion that in some cultures the word 'music' does not exist as a term to differentiate musical activities from other human behaviours.

Alternatives to Walker's rather extreme perspective are Biernoff and Blom's (2002) concept of 'shareable' music, or Hennessy's (2005) suggestion that the teaching of musics other than classical music offers opportunities to move away 'from musical activities which are loaded with preconceptions and mythologies about what constitutes being musical' (223), offering instead a 'new place for participation' (224). Green (1999) similarly suggests that a new context of reception leads to a change in delineated meaning of music; so it is more helpful to think of non-Western musics in a classical music context as something entirely different to what it might be in its 'authentic' setting. These perspectives, particularly that of Hennessy (2005), seem most relevant in the DISS context, where it is beneficial to separate the actual participant experience from the ideology and debate surrounding the presence of the music, focusing instead on the capacity of these classes to enable people to engage in music-making in a way that enables a different approach and the learning of new skills.

These possibilities are exemplified by Samantha's experience of playing samba, away from her usual role as a professional singer, and Sonul's comments about the gamelan class:

Then I did samba... a bit worried about hitting my drum in the wrong place!
Quite therapeutic though and I think it's been great for getting me to listen and imitate.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

It teaches rhythm and coordination and it's sociable and they make friends doing it, and it's confidence building, and people who think that they can't play music find that they can play.

Sonul, tutor

Both Cameron and Tony made comparisons between existing musical skills and the skills required for the non-Western musics they teach:

You've got musicians who already play instruments, violins, violas, cellos, all sorts of instruments and they are approaching a traditional kind of indigenous way of learning to play music which was never written down, it has been passed down orally, but then I have to deal with this idea of linear, this is one, two, three, four and the mbira is kind of in between and then you find out that they get this idea very quickly, but they are still trying to do it as classical music.

Cameron, tutor

The levels of background and experience ... in Western music [seem] to be largely irrelevant to how they get on, because it's a different skill set, and sometimes who've done, people who are for example quite good Western percussionists struggle because they're being asked to do something that requires a different skill set, a different kind of listening and interacting.

Tony, tutor

In both of these cases, attending a non-Western music course at DISS offers an opportunity for hierarchies between participants to be flattened since, as both Cameron and Tony identify, the skills needed are different to those they have developed in the classical tradition. This means therefore that everyone is starting

from a more level playing field. Margaret described how the gamelan course had opened up the possibility of making music for her husband 'who doesn't play', explaining that 'he found it quite hard at first because he finds rhythm difficult but he's picking it up and he's really enjoying it, so I think we'll come back next year!' (Margaret, older resident).

The pedagogies adopted in these classes mirror to some extent the ways in which the instruments would be taught in their original cultural context; Tony identifies a difference between the 'Western thing' and 'the African way':

If they're struggling – I'll try and help but I won't go, I'll try not to do the Western thing, in these sorts of classes – if I was teaching a class where people wanted to learn ['classical' technique] I would go and show them something where they were doing it wrong, but in this sort of class I'll leave them to find it and do it if they want to, because that's partly an African way and that's partly to do with the nature of this pedagogic interaction.

Tony, tutor

Tony's identification of 'this pedagogic interaction' implies that the approach during a non-Western music session is different to a classical teaching situation; his enabling of the players to 'find it and do it if they want to' reflects a Freirean perspective on pedagogy, as well as echoing the style of learning that is common to many cultures outside classical music, where the new learner learns by playing alongside the experienced practitioner. Cameron commented though on how he needed to adapt the way he taught mbira to fit the needs of learners from a classical background:

It's different, the education of music in Africa and in Zimbabwe in particular from - you know, you saw me giving people instruments and showing them left hand first, pattern by pattern, that's not how I was taught, that's the only device of teaching that I learned because I was out of the country, in England I'm teaching, how do I make it a little bit easier for people, but when I was learning myself you listened to the music first before you even touched the instrument, and the music is in you, and even when you are being taught it's not 'let's break it down', it's like here's what the song sounds like, and if you

can look at the fingers and make sense of it, it comes total, the tempo should be right, the sound should be right, and the singing is there.

Cameron, tutor

These differences in pedagogical approaches may contribute to the extent to which non-Western musics may be subject to 'othering' at DISS. Even if unconscious, there may be an assumption that music which is learned aurally and is not corrected as it might be if the teacher was 'doing the Western thing' has less value. The potential of achieving a perfect performance may be negated by a sense that if the music is not notated or taught through a formal process of dissecting its elements, 'perfection' does not exist. This perspective might be heightened by a subconscious alignment with Walker's (1996) view that musics from different cultural traditions are simply not comparable, highlighted perhaps by an implication of 'exoticism' through exposure to the different instruments, as exemplified by this exchange at the start of the mbira class, as people discussed the African drumming class:

[There were] these wonderful xylophones, huge, absolutely massive, I hope we'll have a go on those'.

Mbira class, 28.7.13

There is nothing inherently wrong with the idea of 'having a go' on an instrument, but it is worth considering how this exchange would appear if discussing an instrumental learning context in the classical tradition; the idea of 'having a go' on, for example, a double bass belonging to another resident would not be suggested as lightly. Sonul made a similar point as she discussed the expectations of participants in the gamelan class, and the challenges that she faced as a tutor:

To teach people from grade nothing to kind of like a grade 2 standard of musicianship in the classical tradition within the space of six days when the people change all the time, there's an act of, an act of defiance really – it's always a bit of struggle, but it's a challenge and people rise to it generally, the standard of work that we turn out at the end of the week is very variable ... it's a classical instrument and there's a way of playing the instrument which is not

just hitting it, and so in the first stages people just hit [the instrument] so the result after the first week, the sound is not amazing, the sound, the sound is amazing to people who've never heard it before ... [but] to me, quite often it's like a load of people who've been playing violins for a week which is a complete – violin choir after one week's practice, imagine ... There's an arrogance in, arrogance is a bit of a harsh word, but there's an arrogance in people who just think you can go and learn gamelan for a week.

Sonul, tutor

Her words emphasise how, even though the intention is not to do this, non-Western musics may be presented at DISS as requiring less expertise than classical music; as Sonul says, there would be no way that a group of complete novices would be expected to perform on the violin at the end of only a week, yet the gamelan class stages a performance at the end of each course.

This issue echoes the potential tension between genres identified previously, and will be explored further in Chapter 8, where I discuss performance at DISS. For now, I turn to a discussion of the different possible relationships with the notated musical score, which as has been seen is a thread which runs through consideration of musical transmission.

The musical score

Hennion (1997) suggests that relationships between players, instruments and the notation – 'music objects' - can be re-worked to create 'different versions of the score':

Performers who come from a symphonic tradition play what is notated, for them music *is* the score, a transmitted object which exists with its history and institutions. In contrast, Baroque neo-traditionalists play the piece by *means* of what has been notated. Music is not read on the opaque score but through it, and it depends as much on the instruments used, each with its own particular sound. I am not speaking here of different versions of the same music but

rather of a reliance on different music objects, and, consequently, of two different versions of the score.

Hennion, 1997; 419

In the DISS context, this concept can be extended beyond different genres to include different expectations and aspirations for the outcome of the relationship between the 'music objects'. The interface between different genres, and between classical and non-Western music, highlight how 'the score' and the broader concept of notation may be considered. Alistair, who teaches and performs both folk and Baroque music, put it like this:

The best musicians, contemporary musicians or people who play Romantic music, have a sense of not being stuck in the part, not being stuck in the dots – you have to come away from that and then the music exists away from the music stand and I think that's what you can take away from it – at the end of the day I think a performance isn't dots, that's just a kind of guide – it's just a bit like a play isn't a script, the play is the performance ... I certainly play that way from folk music, and when I'm playing classical music it makes you remember that it's a performance you have to put your personality into, and that's kind of what music-making should be.

Alistair, tutor

These views are also reflected in an informal exchange where Alistair discussed how in 'classical music' everything is 'out there - the music, the stand, the conductor, the audience – whereas in folk music it all comes from inside' (FN, 5.8.12).

Alistair's words are rich with meaning; this comparison between different genres highlights important questions about attitudes towards music-making, as reflected in his references to 'personality' and the music coming 'from inside'. He suggests that dependence on notation is restrictive and may impede internalisation of the music; Susan, a self-taught violinist in the folk tradition who has begun to play classical chamber music at DISS, expressed similar views:

HRK: And how's it different playing folk music to doing classical music for you?

Susan: You don't have any music.

HRK: Is that the main difference?

Susan: Well it's much more relaxing, I find classical music quite restrictive really because you have notes that you have to stick to.

Susan, older resident

Susan uses the term 'music' to refer to a notated score; Ellen, one of the tutors on the folk music course, encountered the same issue, choosing the term 'dots', commonly used to refer to notation, to differentiate between 'the score' and 'music', two things which are often conflated. Her view, like Susan, is that moving away from the 'dots' allows more freedom and ownership over the music:

Just having that confidence to play away from the music gives you more freedom – and it doesn't just apply to folk music, you can take other music and just play it within the dots in front of you – I shouldn't call it music! And also the embellishing that we were talking about, and making it your own – makes you a lot freer, and you can apply that to so many different styles.

Ellen, tutor

Alistair also described how members of the folk music course were not always keen to move away from the printed score:

It's always met with some resistance ... the first thing they say is 'Why don't we have any notes, why don't we have any printed music?', and we have to explain that it's about folk music, about traditional music and part of that is learning by ear, playing things by being taught in a way that is, is not the same as learning a Beethoven sonata in a conservatoire, it's very note based, and you can, there's only a certain degree that you can diverge – but then we give them the notes at the end of the session.

Alistair, tutor

Cameron offered a similar perspective to Alistair, saying that ‘thinking about the notes’ acts as a barrier to emotional connection with the music, and also noting the challenge for those accustomed to ‘classical music’:

But they are still trying to do it as classical music, but then that’s where I found it interesting now, what kind of dialogue I was having with these people, to let them know that it’s about feeling the music in the heart and not thinking about the notes.

Cameron, tutor

Notably, these observations about the role of notated music all arise from making comparisons between genres. It seems that in stepping away from the pre-eminence of the score suggested in classical music, music-makers may connect with what is ‘inside them’, experiencing music ‘in the heart’ rather than as something external. Instead, they themselves become a ‘music object’, with their intent for the outcome relating in equal measure with the process of making music.

The combination of different musical genres at DISS highlights these possibilities; particularly for those on an amateur pathway, it offers the chance to experience genres and styles of learning which may not be available to them in other contexts – or which they simply may not have considered. DISS often represents a first foray into music learning and playing without a notated score; Rebecca described her experience of the beginner gamelan course:

I also knew that it wasn’t written music so if I was going to learn it, it would have to be in a different way and I was not sure how I would manage that. And it is challenging, but I think it’s a really good discipline to learn something in a totally different way, my music teachers were always saying ‘learn something off by heart’ and I always said oh, I can’t really do that, I can’t manage to do that - when I go to a concert and everyone’s playing everything from memory, it’s mind-blowing for me, how they manage that.

Rebecca, older resident

Rebecca conflates aural learning with ‘learning by heart’; these are though different concepts, because to learn by heart, in the way this term is usually interpreted, means starting from the score and memorising it – whereas aural learning suggests a different relationship with the musical object, where a score is never used. In classical music contexts, performing from memory, or ‘by heart’, is often perceived as a marker of skill, as I noted in my observation of Philip’s piano class: ‘The next girl to get up is much younger and plays from memory which immediately makes me assume that she must be more competent’ (Piano workshop 1, 7.8.13). This perspective is corroborated by Alan: ‘Marvel at the amount of time classical pianists put into learning pieces as hard as these by heart’ (Alan, DD). This connection between the score and musical capacity is also reflected in attitudes towards the ability to read – and particularly sight-read – notated music, which will be discussed below.

Eilidh described a similar transition from folk to classical music to Susan, having participated for the first time in a solo singing workshop, a contrast to her regular musical activity of singing and playing guitar with her local folk group:

[In] folk songs if you’ve got a chorus, when you sing they all join in and harmonise, but in a way it’s that – in fact I did my folk song like I normally do (gesturing), and they all came in, by the last chorus they were all singing it, I mean these were sort of musical musicians if you see what I mean (gesture of holding music), rather than folksy types sipping their beer.

Eilidh, older resident

Eilidh identifies using a score as being something that differentiates ‘musical musicians’ from ‘folksy types’, implying a hierarchical relationship between them; it is the dialogue between genres and the notated score that illustrates this contrast in status. Her words also highlight a difference in perceived social contexts for making and performing music – ‘musical musicians’ holding their scores might well be in a more formal performance context, as discussed above, than the ‘folksy types sipping their beer.’

Gordon commented on the changing role of the score throughout history:

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what you have on offer is a type of musicianship that's so much freer, where the musician is so much more crucial to the act of creation, to the creative process than in nineteenth century music where there's lots of highly notated [music] where the composer's role in the seventeenth century, in the sixteenth century even more ... stops at notating the bare bones of the polyphony, and it was the performer that would transform that, by ornamenting or whatever, what the composer did was half the job, and the performer has that freedom, and that's a totally different model of what is to be a musician.

Gordon, tutor

Marit also commented on the attitude towards the score in early music, offering a different perspective where instead of being freeing, the need to approach the score in an open-ended fashion is challenging; as she describes taking part in a medieval music course, she suggests that for her it would be easier to have the clear structure afforded by notation. 'I'm not really an improvising person and it was very improvising music, it was not really very regular things, a lot of it singing audible [by ear] and not with notes and so on'. (Marit, older participant). So in Marit's case, a changed relationship with the musical object at DISS is not something that she wants, preferring instead to stick with the methods of musical engagement to which she is accustomed.

Different attitudes towards the notated score were also evident in observations of teaching at DISS. During an observation of a clarinet class I noted the following: 'Very score-led – working towards an 'ideal' interpretation of the score – references the composer a lot etc.' (Clarinet workshop, 21.8.13), and a longer extract my observation of Reuben's singing class reveals the detailed approach to the score taken by the tutor:

Asks him to sing it again being really clear about the dynamics and sing it is exactly as marked - again going through the score drawing attention to them [the dynamics] – asking him to look at the piano part. 'I didn't get really get that crescendo on the long F#, it says crescendo and expressive - and then a long pause here, and then a glissando which is only a tone, and then a very very

short [indistinguishable] - can you do it again? See if you can do all those markings – you did very well here, the forte piano, I liked that, it was good.

Singing workshop 5, 26.8.13

Contextualising this episode in the workshop session adds to the analysis; my first comment on the singer's performance stated 'He starts singing (he's performing from memory). It's a very nasal and aggressive tone which I personally find quite difficult to listen to.' What followed was work on diction, tempo, articulation and the meaning and context of the text before the detailed approach to the score noted above.

Immediately afterwards the tutor stated – 'That's very good, unfortunately that can't work for an audience – you did the markings but we lost the kind of spark, the communication', before going on to work with technical precision on specific vowel sounds. This snapshot demonstrates the complexity of giving a musically satisfying performance, and all the different musical elements involved; further discussion of each of these aspects will follow, but in this context, it is useful to focus in on the treatment of the score and the composer's markings. Reuben's approach contrasts markedly to Alistair's and Gordon's conception of the musical freedom afforded by moving away from the notated score and the resultant capacity for self-expression.

Here the expressive quality of the music is seen to emanate directly from the composer via the medium of the score, and the performer's task consists in the exact representation of these intentions. His remark that, in following these markings precisely, 'the spark' and 'the communication' are lost seems to corroborate Alistair's perspective – sticking closely to what is written appears to inhibit connection with the listener, perhaps due to a lack of connection with the self. Gordon expressed similar views when discussing his transition from bassoonist to cornetto player, representing a transition from the classical to early music genre:

I was not doing anything creative at all, I was a noise emitter – basically if you play bassoon in an orchestra playing a Beethoven symphony, nobody wants you to express yourself, they want you to play it how everyone knows Beethoven should be.

Gordon, tutor

Creativity with relation to the notated score was also discussed by Dominic, who explained that he tended to approach new repertoire by using it as a basis for improvisation, enabling therefore increased freedom:

If I limit my violin playing to the written notes then I have a very short, very rigid plan of action sort of thing – I’m interested in playing around on the violin so improvisation comes from that.

Dominic, tutor

Dominic refers to ‘playing around on the violin’; play and experimentation are fundamental to creativity, and allow him to move away from the ‘written notes’ which he perceives as rigid and therefore limiting. His approach of combining written notation with his own creativity, like Gordon’s, mirrors Beghetto and Kaufman’s (2007) conception of the fixed and fluid in creativity. In their model of creative teaching and learning, a combination of fixed boundaries and space for freedom is optimal – which is what both Dominic and Gordon are suggesting, and contrasts to the ‘hegemonic creativity’ identified by Daykin (2005; 73) - ‘a conflation of music and self, the notion of music as a ‘gift’, the necessity of risk and sacrifice, and the requirement of mastery’. The latter view of musical creativity is one which is supported by reliance on the musical score as a conduit to the intentions of the composer; this perception of the musical object can contribute to a conflation of musical score-reading ability and musical capability more generally, as will now be explored.

Reading notated music and sight-reading

The ability to read a notated score often appears to be a measure of musical capability, or as a way of differentiating between people – ‘people [who] love singing in choirs but are not fluent readers, some of them can’t read music at all’ (Rhona, tutor). Erin’s diary demonstrates how her encounter with ‘amateurs’ as they approach a new piece of music highlights her own fluency and facility with the notated score:

As a musician who is very used to looking at scores and knowing how the piece fits together, it’s easy to forget how much subconscious work is done in

rehearsal. I know the obvious places to start from because I can fairly easily hear the structure of the piece, and because I look at the whole score, not just my part, so I know where the section breaks are. I can also concentrate on where new sets of words start, because I don't have to concentrate on singing the right notes and rhythm. And I'm used to reading music, so it's very quick to do. I have to remember that this is really another language, so of course it will take amateurs much longer to find their place than it would for me, just as it would take me a long time to find places in an Arabic text if I started learning Arabic.

Erin, tutor, DD

The ability to read the notated score in this way, which as Erin rightly observes is based on extensive prior experience and regular practice, is often conflated with musical competence, especially in the United Kingdom, where the ability to 'sight-read' and learn music at a rapid pace is highly valued and often leads to increased bookings for professional bookings.

Different attitudes towards this skill were revealed at DISS. Francoise, like Erin, recognised that it was a product of experience; now a professional singer, she describes her first experience of coming to Dartington as a teenager. This memory of her younger musical self demonstrates her progress since then, with sight-reading ability used as a benchmark for musical standard.

It was a bit scary though because there were so many amazing singers, like for example, in the madrigal group there were a lot of people who could sight-read really well and I wasn't very good at that, because I was not very experienced.

Francoise, bursary student

For these more experienced musicians, sight-singing is understood as a behaviour that can be improved with practice and is nevertheless still challenging. Raymond, a musician from an amateur pathway, demonstrated a different attitude:

I would find it very difficult to pick up a madrigal and just sing my part, I'd have to practise my part – that's what I'm saying, I'm not a professional musician,

I'm an amateur musician ... I have friends who can just pick up the pieces of music and sight-read it almost immediately, which I can't do.

Raymond, older resident

Like Erin above, he makes an explicit correlation between sight-reading ability and professional status, as if the capacity to play or sing music at sight is all that differentiates one from the other, whilst also perceiving this capacity as beyond his reach.

Louise, describing singing at school, identified how the ability to read music differentiated her from other pupils and dictated musical choices:

All the people who could read music were told to go and sing alto and that was the beginning, I'm a soprano, a coloratura soprano, but I could read music so I was an alto and that was it.

Louise, older resident

A conversation amongst the members of a string quartet in residence for a week as chamber music tutors and performers demonstrates similar perceptions of reading notated music:

[The quartet are] talking about whether their parents are musical or not – 'my parents just love singing so much, if they could read music they could sing in choirs'. 'Do your parents play, T.?' 'They play the piano a bit' 'So they can read music?'

FN, 16.8.12

By contrast, Stella, attending the 'Improve your sight singing' course, considers that it is within her capability to improve her abilities, particularly concerning improved confidence:

Sight Singing class was brilliant today and it is beginning to make sense. It's not that I can't do it – just that I'd like to be more relaxed with rhythm, particularly quavers and semiquavers. When I see a complicated page I go to pieces!

Stella, houseparent, DD

Robert, another singer who although experienced, does not sing professionally, echoes Stella's sense of achievement following successful sight-reading:

First meeting of the week's new choir with J. Bach – lots of lovely weird semiquavers, great fun to read, really exciting music. A good competent sound and a very promising week ahead.

Robert, older resident, DD

For him, successfully 'reading' the music is a fulfilling experience which is exciting and motivating – and the group's ability to get through the new score is seen as a measure of 'competence'. Caroline's experiences reflect this attitude:

[In the chamber choir] they achieve such a high standard, learning quite a lot of very difficult music quickly with other people who sing at sight - the whole thing I really enjoy about Dartington is being able to come here and sing with people who sing well, in tune, and can sight-read so you can just get down to things, you can learn a huge amount in an hour and a half ... to learn something that I've never sung before, that I'm not likely to sing at home, and to sing it to a really good standard in a very short time - that's the main thing. The challenge - it's a challenge, practising sight-reading to a high standard so it's only once a year!

Caroline, older resident

Both Robert and Caroline have an increased sense of musical achievement from sight-reading themselves and being surrounded by others who they perceive as competent; this contrasts with Luke's perspective, as an experienced pianist who has often fulfilled the role of accompanist at DISS and describes accompanying a vocal class:

I began to feel I was highly skilled, sight-reading piece after piece ... but sight-reading doesn't quite, you can't really make it music.

Luke, tutor

Although Luke, like Françoise and Erin, identifies his level of skill in sight-reading, for him it is not making 'music' – a distinct contrast to Robert and Caroline's point of view, where the capacity to sight-read efficiently through new music with others of the same ability seems hugely musically satisfying. These contrasting attitudes illustrate differing relationships with the 'music object' of the score, which besides serving contrasting functions with relation to creativity and musical expression can also act as a measure of musical capability and communication.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter has explored musical 'parts' and transmission from the dual perspectives of formal, informal, non-formal and non-Western pedagogies and a consideration of the role of the notated score. Formal pedagogical approaches at DISS are seen to occur where musical activity is led by those working mainly in the school environment. Informal learning happens during and in between classes, through peer-to-peer instruction or casual verbal exchanges affirming and 'assessing' progress, by listening to performances by tutors. Brief discussion of non-formal or 'community' pedagogy prefigures a more thorough consideration of community music in Chapters 6 and 9. Non-Western pedagogies at DISS promote consideration of the universality or culturally specific nature of musics and their pedagogies. The musical score has been considered in terms of its role in different genres and traditions. The ability to read and sight-read this score was explored as a measure of musical capability.

Thinking devices

- DISS is a site for multiple pedagogical approaches, which may come to prevalence at various moments for both teachers and learners. Analysis of the teaching of non-Western musics at DISS raised the question of whether they are 'othered' through different expectations. This raises particular implications for other music education and community music scenarios beyond DISS.
- The score is perceived as a medium which may act as a measure of distinction or exchange (between genres), possibility, constraint or freedom.

Chapter 6: Playing the part of the teacher and learner

The formal, informal, non-formal and non-Western pedagogical approaches discussed above are enacted at DISS in the context of a very particular learning community, in which residents play both familiar and unfamiliar teaching and learning roles. I begin this chapter with an exploration of the diverse DISS learning community and its community of practice, before moving to a consideration of the connections between learning and musical identity and an exploration of the concept of mimetic learning. Masterclass pedagogy is then examined before presenting a proposed 'DISS pedagogy' which draws together aspects of the discussion of pedagogical approaches in Chapter 5 with the considerations of the learning community in this chapter.

The DISS learning community

Each person attending DISS brings their own enculturation, schooling, training and socialization, informed by aspects of formal, informal or non-formal teaching and learning as discussed above. The intersections between the past, present and future musical 'enculturations' of the multiplicity of individuals at DISS create unique, sometimes challenging, teaching and learning situations, whilst also opening up meaningful possibilities.

Features of formal, informal and non-formal learning co-exist in many, if not all, musical teaching and learning scenarios. However, either the teaching style or the cohort of learners might usually be assumed to have at least some points of consistency in aspirations, assessment expectations, community context or previous musical experience. At DISS there are very varied musical aspirations, intentions and expectations on the part of the stakeholders. Although this diversity of aspiration and intention occurs in other settings, factors imposed by a broader institutional context or membership of a group might usually have more impact in imposing a united purpose, and, importantly, some form of end goal or assessment. This diversity of intention contributes to the composition of the DISS 'community of practice', a concept developed by Lave and Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) and highly complex in its application. In a nutshell, though, it can be described as the learning

relationships and 'practices' which lie at the heart of a 'community' of any kind, whether formally or informally structured.

Lave and Wenger (1991) describe a continuum of possible relationships between 'newcomer' and 'old-timer'; as an alternative to the learner-teacher dichotomy, this model opens up multiple possible relationships between actors and modes of participation, which can apply to both tutors and learners in becoming part of the DISS community of practice. In their framing, 'Acceptance by and interaction with acknowledged adept practitioners make learning legitimate and of value from the point of view of the apprentice' (1991;110). Their conception of 'transparency' as a 'way of organizing activities that makes their meaning visible' (94) has resonances with the capacity of DISS to offer a window into a different musical world. Becoming part of any kind of community is, according to Lave and Wenger, integrally bound up with the acts of learning and identity construction. They present an active process of meaning making, in which the notion of 'legitimate peripheral participation' (Lave & Wenger, 1991; 36) is a stage in the trajectory of an individual's assimilation of behaviours associated with the community of practice, whoever its constituents may be; learning is an integral constituent of this process.

Mok (2010), when researching the enculturation, learning practices, attitudes, values and beliefs of four socio-musical groups in Hong Kong, found that each had their own shared sets of musical values and practices. At DISS, groups function at the macro level of amateur, professional and aspiring professional; within and across these exist and are created groups formed on the basis of role at DISS, instruments, genres, age, previous attendance, courses attended, and so on. Individuals within these groups come from different pathways of musical enculturation, and intersections between these pathways may be a source of either discomfort or pleasure for those experiencing them. Furthermore, the DISS community exists on two planes: the temporary residential conglomeration of performers, tutors, and musical participants, and the wider network that links them together from year to year. In addition, each of these individuals belongs to their own external networks and communities of practice, the behaviours of which to at least some extent they bring with them to DISS. DISS then forms its own community of practice, with associated behaviours and capacity for the individual to move from 'legitimate peripherality' (Lave & Wenger, 1991; 36) to full participation in the community.

It can be extrapolated therefore that it is not the learning context per se that defines teaching and learning as formal, informal or non-formal, but the attitudes, expectations, aspirations and experiences of the teachers and learners participating, who at DISS come together to form what might be called an episodic community of practice – temporary, but re-occurring each year with a consistent core of practices, experienced by a fluctuating membership. Within this membership, different groups and individuals have unique musical enculturation, expectations and aspirations. It is the intersections of these that may provide the greatest potential for change and musical discovery.

A mixed level community

Gordon gave his perspective on the mixed levels and aspirations of the DISS community, comparing the ‘amateur’ learner with those on a professional pathway in terms of attitude and intention:

In the beginner lessons there’s a couple of ladies who are in the later stage in life, total beginners with no background, they have an absolute love of the instrument, absolute love of the repertoire, but not burdened by absolute burning ambition to become professionals, they ... just want to have fun with this wonderful music and crazy instruments, and they also have to practise and put the time in and play long notes like I tell them to, and who knows whether they’ll be playing in a few years’ time, but I think they’ve got a lot out of being here because they’ve never played any sort of wind instrument in any sort of ensemble, and suddenly they’re there playing seventeenth century music with twelve other people.

Gordon, tutor

Gordon notes how he adapts a formal approach with these ‘beginner’ players – ‘they have to...play long notes like I tell them to’, implying a contrast with a more ‘advanced’ approach, which may be less focused on the development of technique. This contrast is also highlighted by his observation that the ‘beginners’ are not ‘burdened’ by ‘burning ambition’, but just want to ‘have fun with this wonderful music’; this implies that for the amateur musician, music-making is ‘for the love of it’ (Booth, 2000),

whereas for the professional, the need to succeed may become a burden. Luke also identifies how the mixture of residents affects their aspirations and expectations, which may be as simple as having an opportunity to perform a favourite piece of repertoire, but equally may be to learn and make progress:

There are people who are young students, who work hard and they're obviously here to learn, and there are those older people who come in exactly the same way to learn, and there are also certain people who come who want to sing in a masterclass, but they don't necessarily want to get better and there are some who come who ... usually sing the same thing every year, never get better, and I always wonder if they get anything out of it, and I suspect they're just doing it to get their moment to perform because actually if you're a sixty year old and you're singing Songs of Travel, which is what you want to sing, when do you get to perform?

Luke, tutor

This mixed level community is often described as the most unique and special quality of DISS, with Vivian's description being fairly typical:

You've got the very advanced students and so on, and some very experienced older players who are obviously helping and assisting the ones who are feeling their way a bit more, and they can learn from, but all the same it's useful experience for those more advanced people who are maybe future professionals...

Vivian, older resident

Vivian's description gives a learner's perspective on how it might work, but for the tutors, accommodating diverse needs and aspirations can present significant challenges:

You have to work harder I think, to try and keep everybody happy and sometimes that's easier than others, so sometimes, like this year has been good actually because I've got about five students who are really good and

then I've got a similar number who are - the older amateurs, and then a couple of really young ones, so I've got quite a nice mix.

Jane, tutor

You think will the beginners be intimidated and feel like they're holding everyone else back, will the advanced students feel like they're being held back, wishing the beginners would bugger off...

Gordon, tutor

It was really nice to see how the two best musicians acted so patiently, and didn't seem the least bit bothered that they were being held back. They were happy to show what I consider to be the 'true spirit of Dartington', where enjoyment of music-making is far more important than standard.

Erin, tutor, DD

Gordon and Erin's descriptions, and my observations of Jane's teaching, show that these diverse levels can work together, as well as embodying the 'Dartington spirit' discussed above, but as their reflections show, this process is not without its concerns for the tutors.

Both Luke and Jane refer to 'older amateurs', highlighting another important facet of the DISS community – the mixed ages of the participants. Perkins et al. (2014) identify that:

Older adults can be considered a growing and predominantly new audience for most conservatoire student-teachers, presenting them with a largely unfamiliar teaching environment [...] [and] a departure from the norm for the majority of conservatoire students.

Perkins, Aufegger & Williamon, 2014; 2

Their analysis could be applied to many of the tutors at DISS, especially those who are newer to the role, and draws attention to the specific challenges of working with older people. Reuben describes these in the context of singing, where possible physical limitations imposed by age are evident:

Their physically strongest years for singing are not ahead of them, so maybe they're coming for something different than improving their singing ... to a certain extent I do see improvement, but you've got to balance that out with the ageing process and the voice of a certain age. I think one of the tricky things about Dartington is the balance between working with young aspiring singers and then more mature people who are doing it for fun and often for many of them they sang a lot as children or as younger people, and that's quite a different emotional balance.

Reuben, tutor

Reuben described how this mixture of aspirations, intentions and potentialities can lead to difficulties:

Occasionally I feel I'm almost going too far, in terms of pushing somebody who perhaps is finding they can't do something that they once could do – the young aspiring people are generally discovering things that they didn't know they could do, but these are people who want to be able to sing how they used to when they were 20, and that's a tricky thing, and that's quite a difficult one sometimes.

Reuben, tutor

The 'emotional balance' Reuben mentions highlights a bittersweet aspect of DISS for older residents; although it gives many opportunities to learn and develop, it can also act as a reminder of what is no longer achievable, definitively closing the door to a possible self. Of course, the extent to which this is a damaging experience is affected by residents' awareness of their own limitations, which is where the expertise of tutors like Reuben, who has been attending DISS for many years, is revealed.

Later in the interview, Reuben identified another motivation for attending DISS – 'I think for some they're coming for psychological reasons', an aspect also identified by Dominic:

Some people don't think of [free improvisation] as music, they think of it as self-help in some way, which it can be – but that is not the class I've got, that

would be a self-help or music therapy class, which it's not, it's improv, and ... I'm very respectful of people's feelings but I am aware that I am not a psychologist and I don't want to damage people, also – so it's a very fine line.

Dominic, tutor

As both Reuben and Dominic note, this 'psychological' aspect of teaching leaves residents very vulnerable in some respects, whilst also placing great responsibility on the tutor to 'be mindful', as Reuben states, and manage the emotional needs of the learners. For many DISS residents, attending does serve a 'self-help' function; the link between music-making and wellbeing will be discussed in the following chapter, but these contrasting intentions on the part of tutor and class participants illustrate how the diversity of the community's reasons for being there can present challenges for tutors.

Dominic also discussed the challenge of working with learners of diverse levels, again in terms of a contrast between his musical aspirations and those of the improvisation course participants:

The difference in technical ability of people in the class actually provides some problems, because some people want to do things they can't, but then of course we don't want to not allow them to do those things, absolutely not – they should be free to do them, however it makes the piece suffer – so it's a constant, for me it's a lose-lose in that sense, musically – and for, in many senses the class participants, if the mindframe is right it's a win-win, because anything goes – and then even if it's wrong it's not wrong ... the only way to get rid of this is only to work with people you've chosen and trust and who are the same professional level with you and that's impossible in any summer festival...

Dominic, tutor

If the learners do not experience the effects of the tutors' dissatisfaction with the musical product, it could be argued that it does not matter, since if they are able to enjoy the music making and benefit from the expertise of the tutors, then from their perspective they are getting what they want. At times though, tutors may not deal well with the mixed standards, as Grace describes:

Last year I came away [from the class] just thinking that I was useless, I mean he was nice enough and he never actually said anything bad, but he never said anything good to anyone. Basically what you'd get was "that's better" and it just felt, it just felt as if I was, I wasn't playing because I thought I was great at it, and all I could think was all the things wrong, yes I know about that bit, I need to work on this, I need to do this and I need to that and actually I'm not very good at all, and I just came away thinking I don't need to be told that I'm brilliant, because I'm not, but I'd like to think that there's something good about what I'm playing ... it just made me realize more just how much that level of encouragement is important.

Grace, younger resident

Grace's comments illustrate what might happen when a tutor who is less experienced in working with players from an amateur pathway is confronted with the diverse learning community at DISS; tailoring feedback to the level of the learner is a fundamental pedagogical skill, but one which is usually developed through working with learners at many different levels – which may not represent the usual teaching experience of this particular tutor.

Experiences like this also illustrate the connection between teaching and learning and musical identity. Grace's words show both her musical self-concept, as she describes herself as 'not brilliant', and the damaging impact on her musical self-esteem of inadequate feedback on her playing; her description of feeling 'not very good at all' demonstrates feeling worse about herself musically. Teaching, learning and musical identity are closely linked, as will now be discussed.

Learning and musical identity

Green (2011;1) places learning at the heart of musical identities, stating that they are 'wrapped with how, where, when, and why [musical] tastes, values, practices, skills, and knowledge were acquired or transmitted'. Experiences of and opportunities for the acquisition of musical skills and practices may be fulfilling or lacking, absent or

present across the lifespan; Lamont (2011) identifies the centrality of positive learning experiences to 'robust' identity formation:

Providing favourable conditions for identity development throughout childhood and adulthood seems to be necessary to help as many as possible develop their own sense of musical identity and explore their passion.

Lamont, 2011; 383

Pitts (2017), researching links between music education and lifelong musical engagement, explored the acquisition of musical skills and interests, and the origins of musical confidence, in order to address broader question of how these factors could be enhanced and supported through music education. DISS provides a context in which these issues can also be investigated, as well as being a possible 'antidote' to some of the shortcomings identified by Pitts, such as the clear identification of possible progression routes. Pitts identifies that 'insight on how to get from [the] current level of musical learning to a future in which music-making plays a significant part is rarely a feature of school music or even instrumental lessons' (163). At DISS, many possible ways of being a musician are presented both through actual role models, mentors and teachers, and through observation of other musical ways of being – which goes back to my original motivation for the study, that of considering 'past, present and alternative' versions of the musical self. Pitts (2017) states that 'an awareness of routes into lifelong musical engagement is essential to finding them' (166) – and DISS offers its residents many opportunities to become aware of these routes, not least because of the multigenerational community.

Taylor (2010b), researching participation in masterclasses by adult amateur pianists, invites us to consider how such experiences can affect the personal assessment of the self: self-esteem, as defined by MacDonald et al (2002). She considers that such learning events, at the point of teaching, during the preparation process, and in reflection and subsequent learning, contribute significantly to the construction of adult musical identity. The contribution of ongoing musical education to musical identity development is highly significant at DISS. Taylor also presents an alternative viewpoint to the movement between different musical selves, using the example of an uneven performance by an amateur in a masterclass situation as a case in which one musical self might be unconsciously exchanged for another, with the

creative performer being replaced by the learner-performer. At DISS, residents' shifting roles allow for constant conscious or unconscious exchanging of musical selves, often linked to learning experiences.

An important part of the learner role at DISS is the sense of making progress. This was commented on in terms of witnessing one's own progress and seeing others develop, as in Grace's description of a piano class and her experience over time of trumpet classes:

In some ways when you hear the people who aren't as good - even just two minutes with them and you can hear the sound, the difference, and sometimes you think 'I like that, it sounds good, oh that does sound better'... you get amateurs like myself and it's such a huge difference that [the tutors] can make ... and it's also one of the nice things about coming back, particularly in the brass, you know people and you kind of know their stories, and you've seen them and you can remember from the previous years and they were maybe a bit nervous, I was hopeless when I started, I wouldn't do a solo, but each time I felt a bit more confident, and I've done a solo, and there's other people who've been here these same years, they know that, and they know where you've come from, how you've progressed, that's nice, that's kind of feeling that you're kind of growing up with these people.

Grace, younger resident

This sense of collective progress links to the idea of the DISS identity, cultivated and re-visited over time, which was discussed in Chapter 4. It is also noteworthy how progress is measured, with Grace commenting on players 'sounding better', becoming less nervous, and performing solos. These measures of musical ability form part of the broader subsequent discussion of how musical standards are defined and described.

Delia commented on a more individual level about the progress she had made during a particular chamber music session, exemplifying how access to high level tuition at DISS can enable an adult learner to make rapid progress, and the sense of satisfaction that this enables.

I was in a wind quintet yesterday and I was the only flute so I couldn't hide behind somebody else, and [the tutor] really pushed me and worked with me and I came out shaking but it was amazing - you know, it was, I felt I'd kind of really gone through to another level.

Delia, older resident

Delia describes making rapid progress over a short time; an extract from my observation of a singing workshop illustrates how DISS 'regulars' may witness their progress and development over time:

'There are songs that I first sung ten years ago and now I'm finding that I sing them as I used to do then' – 'You have to think of yourself as being a new singer' – 'which I think I am!'

Singing workshop 2: 2.8.12

Although this particular singer is on an amateur pathway, his sense of growing up and progressing at DISS mirrors those on a professional pathway, and embodies the 'serious leisure' approach discussed above. If considered as a leisure activity, the concept of 'mimetic learning' (Blackshaw, 2010) becomes important and will now be explored.

Mimetic learning

As discussed above, DISS may be a leisure activity or act as professional development, a difference articulated by Natalie in her description of the Baroque Orchestra:

We stretch [the orchestra members], and they're really exhausted now – good fun! But that's what they've come to do, at that level, and I don't think a course like this is about entertainment, giving them a nice holiday – they're not coming for holidays, they come to learn and I think that's what we try, so we work very hard with them – we're very demanding but I think they like it!

Natalie, tutor

Leisure activities have a significant function as play, a type of activity that may be perceived as inconsequential and insignificant (Borsay, 2006; Roberts, 2011). If a leisure activity becomes a learning experience, Mantie (2012) considers that the shift from participant to learner changes the focus from communal to individual goals. Blackshaw (2010) characterises this as a transition from play to mimesis – something which mimics activities which for others fulfil an employment or education role. In a musical context, this mimesis would usually occur in a separate setting from one where the learning forms part of the goal of becoming a professional musician. For those attending DISS for primarily leisure purposes, the learning fulfils a different purpose:

It's experiential, it is not goal directed, whereas some of the time people want to learn something for a particular function – people here want to try to, they're doing it for their interest.

Tony, tutor

Teaching and learning at DISS is unusual in that it may bring together mimetic learning with the more goal-orientated learning of aspiring professional residents, such as that described by Paul here:

A couple of the older players in the orchestra who are a bit more cynical really enjoy catching [the conducting students] out and that sort of thing - giving them a hard time, and even though that's bad in a way, that's kind of good preparation for them because if they go in unprepared to an actual professional orchestra they would get that, they'd get cynicism and every tiny little thing they did they wouldn't be given any sort of leeway, they would be pounced on.

Paul, orchestra member

Paul described the advanced conducting course from his perspective as a member of the orchestra, comprised of professional and semi-professional players, illustrating how the learning in this situation reflects the reality of the professional music world.

One setting in which mimetic and goal-orientated learning are blended is the early brass course, renowned for the professional development it provides to those

who want to pursue a career in this field – ‘as an early brass player, you look around the profession and find someone who has not been to Dartington; I just can’t find anyone’ (Esme, tutor). For other people, some of whom are complete beginners, it offers something different:

There’s a room of twelve people – some of them are really hungry 21 year olds who just want to be cornetto players in the future and just want to put in all the work, then you have partly deaf nice old German chaps that can’t hear when you shout a bar number and then can’t play the notes that are in front of them – I mean obviously the super advanced students, they’re well aware that they’re not being pushed in some pieces, but we’ve made sure they have the chance so when it comes to the *tutti* pieces with the mixed ability ones, it’s fantastic because they’re just really supportive of the beginners, rather than thinking “you’re holding me back.” In the beginner lessons there’s a couple of ladies who are in the later stage in life, total beginners with no background.

Gordon, tutor

Jennifer, a member of an amateur early music consort and participant on the early brass course, contrasts this experience to her everyday musical life:

J: It’s quite a contrast to what we normally do. I like it because it’s quite academic, the tuition is really good quality, and it’s really nice to play with professionals, but I also find it quite challenging sometimes because it’s a whole step up from the way we normally practice and play, which is much more relaxed, so I learn a lot but it’s challenging.

HRK: So in what ways would you say it’s a step up from what you normally do?

J: I think we don’t ever – we consider ourselves lucky if we can get through a piece to the end, we tend not to focus on the musicality and the articulation and phrasing in the same kind of way as – I think you approach it from a much more amateur perspective, whereas here the expectation is that you approach it from a professional perspective and also that you’ve got the skills to go with that.

Jennifer, younger resident

Jennifer identified that these challenges could be positive ‘when you can rise to it’ but that ‘sometimes it’s too much ... [and] you come away feeling that you’ve not achieved, or that you’ve achieved less, doing worse than you did when you started.’ This could happen in any teaching and learning situation, but the presence of musicians of significantly different experience at DISS might contribute to an increased negative impact. When a learner plays and learns alongside a higher-level musician who they aspire to emulate, the difference in expertise is inevitably highlighted and could potentially be disempowering. The mimetic possibility of playing the part of a professional musician might therefore be undermined by the differences between the physical representation of who you want to be and the reality of who you are.

Many classes at DISS follow the pattern and structure of the masterclass, a common pedagogical approach in higher level music education which has been well researched and documented.³⁰ As will now be explored, the masterclass offers both benefits and challenges in terms of mimetic and other kinds of learning at DISS.

Mixed level masterclasses

Hanken (2015) applies Bandura’s social learning theory to the masterclass context:

Bandura warns that simply exposing people to models does not necessarily alter their efficacy beliefs to the better [...] it is therefore important to structure modelling in ways that enhance a sense of personal efficacy while avoiding negative effects of comparisons with the model, which are unfavourable. This can be achieved by focusing on the *instructive* function of the model and minimising the comparative evaluative function. Translated to the context of a master class, this means that the master class should be framed as a learning opportunity for the students in the audience, where the focus is on developing their knowledge and skills through observing proficient models.

Hanken, 2015; 5

³⁰ Examples include Atkinson et al. (2013), Haddon (2013), Hanken (2010; 2015), Hanken & Long (2012), Taylor (2010b)

This perspective presents challenges in the DISS context, where the model may well not be 'proficient' enough for the more advanced students to learn from, and conversely, may be too 'proficient' for the less experienced students and therefore lead to the 'negative effects of comparison' which as Hanken identifies, may be unfavourable. Many interviewees commented on how they had learned from their experiences of being 'audience' in a masterclass situation; Eva provides one example:

I am not very good technically as well so it's not that I am criticising them in any way, but so you realise that even people who don't sing very well technically they might bring something to their singing, like some kind of emotion or some kind of musicianship, and I really enjoy that, I feel that I'm really learning from everyone's performance.

Eva, younger resident

Even though Eva states that she is 'not very good technically', she evidently has enough knowledge of singing technique to identify when people are 'not singing well'; but her learning from others transcends the technical, encompassing emotion and musicianship, and encompassing varied ways to engage with the musical object. Grace compares herself to others more negatively: 'it's fantastic hearing really good players and it's also quite daunting, when you're sat there' (Grace, younger resident). This 'comparative evaluative function' is also hard to avoid, particularly in a situation where people who do not know one another come together for a short time; Hanken also identifies the importance of the group dynamic within a masterclass, which can be hard to establish with a disparate and temporary group.

Furthermore, if the 'audience' are sufficiently competent they may see ways to apply the ideas expressed to their own playing; but if they are not, the experience becomes closer to an 'audience' experience where the relationship entails a feeling of awe at the skill of the performer. Many respondents described enjoyment at witnessing development and change in fellow class participants, but it is important to interrogate how superficial this change may be, particularly in the case of singing classes, where an 'instant difference' can often be made fairly easily. Caroline's comments provide a good example:

I find it really interesting that young people who've been taught to sing by somebody else elsewhere will come here and someone like N. [one of the vocal tutors] will start to teach them and he will change their voice totally and improve it hugely and not all singing teachers are able to teach - the techniques are different.

Caroline, older resident

Caroline's comment that the tutor 'will change their voice totally' is thought-provoking, since it could be argued that no teacher, however competent, could completely change a singing voice in the course of a short public intervention.

When this situation works, though, it has many benefits; Lucy comments positively about how aspiring professionals can learn:

I think it opens their eyes a little bit because they're prepared to listen to people who are not intending to be professional singers in the same way that they are and who perhaps don't have the ambition, they have the ambition to get better which is a very healthy ambition, but perhaps they don't have the ambition to - sing on a big stage somewhere, and the music students are obviously at the beginning of what might be possible and some of them don't, what they don't know and what they very often can't know is their own context in the long journey to succeed or their long journey to be a professional, they don't know where they are on that ladder, but actually to be more confused by seeing these other people is a good idea because it makes them really think about what does it really mean to be a good singer, what do I have to have, what do I have to do, what do I have to learn, what the things I really need.

Lucy, tutor

In this scenario, the comparison with a singer whose aspirations are very different allows the aspiring professional to learn more about what they need to help them along their 'long journey to succeed'. Jane described a conversation with two 'extremely advanced students':

They were saying that they felt that really learned from watching me coaching ...even the more ... beginner people, because they can, because they're learning from the teaching aspect as well, which you don't really think about, because I, you sort of worry as a tutor that they're going to be getting frustrated because obviously it's such a different level but actually a lot of them who want to go and do, be musicians themselves, will be teaching all different levels so I think actually they can get things out of it that you don't necessarily think of.

Jane, tutor

Lucy and Jane's remarks illustrate how becoming part of the DISS community of practice is concerned with more than just placing oneself in a position of 'aspiring professional', 'keen to learn', 'older amateur' or the like. Jean describes the community of practice as a 'journey together':

It all sounds rather 1960s, we're all on a journey together, maybe you've just started learning about it, or don't have much time to know a great deal, and some people know a whole huge heap and that's lovely too. It's kind of that sharing that together, I think that is really magical.

Jean, tutor

Jean's description echoes the Utopian, mythical quality of DISS described above, and therefore lays itself open to questioning; nevertheless, it is possible to identify a 'DISS pedagogy' which manages to encompass the diversity of the learning community and can be used highly effectively, even within the confines of the 'masterclass' structure.

DISS pedagogy

DISS tutors bring with them practices drawn from wider experience as music educators within formal and non-formal contexts; the majority referred to at least some element of teaching individuals or groups, whether at school, university or conservatoire level. Some tutors had considerable previous experience working with adult learners - the bulk of the learning community of DISS - whereas others were more experienced in working with children; within those who had worked extensively with adults, exposure

to amateur learners differed, with some tutors being more accustomed to teaching at conservatoire level. Conservatoire professors are often employed on the basis of performing reputation rather than teaching ability (Purser, 2005), with an approach to teaching informed by their own experience rather than by a scientific pedagogical approach (Mills, 2004b; Zhukov, 2004; Purser, 2005); they may have little teaching experience in the wider musical world prior to commencing a role teaching at conservatoire (Mills, 2004b), and thus may have spent less time teaching beginners (children or adult) or lifelong amateurs, a type of learner frequently encountered at DISS. Therefore, while playing the role of the teacher at DISS, all tutors are to some extent playing an unfamiliar part, either because they are teaching at all or because of the nature of the learning community. Teaching at DISS may closely reflect the everyday musical lives of the tutors, be reserved for DISS, or be an entirely new experience. Amongst the tutors I observed and interviewed, many were returning after many previous visits, whilst some were tutoring there for the first time.

In his discussion of the connections between the pedagogy of Paolo Freire and Utopianism, Roberts (2015) talks of Freire's belief in the revolutionary power of love which underlies his dialogic, humanising pedagogy:

Love of one's subject and the process of seeking to understand it more deeply; love of the possibilities for human communication and connectedness through dialogue; and love of the students with whom one is working.

Roberts, 2015; 283

Narita and Green (2015) place dialogue at the heart of social justice in music education, adopting Fraser (2001, 2005, 2008) to understand social justice as 'participatory parity through dialogical interactions' (303), between teacher and learner or learner and learner. They consider that dialogic pedagogy of this kind may address the inequalities identified by Freire's conception of the 'banking' model of education (Freire, 1970). Roberts' words could encompass the best of what might be called the 'DISS pedagogy', where the inclusive, Utopian ideals of the Dartington project are exemplified in an approach to teaching a hugely diverse group which is informed by passion and commitment to both music and the DISS residents. Narita and Green characterise the dialogic teaching at the heart of Freirean pedagogy as

Grounded in the lived experiences of the learners and showing respect for the knowledge and skills that they already possess, the teachers, while learning along with the learners, instigate the development of learners' abilities, acting with them and not upon them.

Narita & Green, 2015; 305

The idea of 'learning along with the learners' can be conceptualised at DISS in terms of both a symbiotic relationship between teaching and performing and the tutors' assimilation into the DISS community of practice as they learn how to adapt their teaching to the mixed levels of the learners they encounter there.

The following three extracts illustrate aspects of a DISS pedagogy. Rhona, a long-term DISS attendee and chamber music coordinator, described what she perceived to be effective pedagogy at DISS for those leading chamber music tuition, and Tony gave his perspective as a tutor of African drumming. The third extract gives the perspective of an observer of an advanced singing class:

A lot of patience, and ... willingness to play with people of all standards, and they nearly always have to play, not just sit and listen and then give their wisdom.

Rhona, tutor

My role is one of – not exactly translation, there's a phrase I like - 'ferrying meaning', which is a phrase that comes from another writer Malidoma Patrice Somé – he talks about ferrying meaning from place to place and yes I'm mediating ... I'm trying to understand where they're coming from and convey some of my experience in a way that is something they recognise, and tell some stories – so I'm trying to do that and at the same time show them a bit of how the music works ... I'm hoping they'll understand a lot more from what they actually do and what they find for themselves because they've got to find their own version of it.

Tony, tutor

When she's teaching it's just an art form really and inspirational ... how she moves the usually young people on, and so it's how she makes a difference really – but it's tied up like all teachers really with her personality and the way she interacts and puts them at their ease and so on and it's just a pleasure. ... it just feels sort of positive and encouraging and creative and so you can see the young people keen to move on ... there is always an audition for [this class] but nevertheless the standard is quite varied, and so it's the acceptance of who comes and just working from where they're at now.

Maureen, older resident

The willingness to play alongside music-makers of a range of levels described by Rhona, and the 'mediating' described by Tony, alongside his desire for the members of his class to 'find their own version', together with the 'acceptance of who comes' which Maureen identifies, all combine to exemplify a pedagogy which at its best is tailored to the individual needs of the learners, democratic, dialogic and empathetic.

Positive qualities of DISS tutors, identified by the members of their classes, included the capacity to be generous, supportive, patient, flexible, warm, friendly, welcoming, engaging, and thoughtful, alongside a perception that they treated learners with musical respect, helped them to find their musical voice, and made them feel good about themselves. Encouragement was the most identified positive feature of their teaching, followed by high expectations of the learners. Residents appreciated tutors who had a plan for their sessions, were knowledgeable, and most importantly, knew how to help individual learners. Eilidh's description of a singing class led by Lucy is typical of these positive perceptions:

Very welcoming, every style, and everyone, she made people feel good about themselves but also that you'd come away with something.

Eilidh, older resident

Tutors employed a range of teaching strategies; musical demonstration was the most common amongst the classes that I observed, sometimes but not always involving playing alongside the student. Tutors also approached repertoire from the perspective of musical analysis, or gave information about the context of the piece. They

sometimes worked in detail on technical aspects of playing or singing, as well as diagnosing and approaching specific problems; explaining and analysing technique was a common feature of many classes. The following extract from my observation of a string orchestra rehearsal exemplifies this pedagogy in action with a large, diverse group:

J. [the tutor] leads the tuning from his violin by walking around the room [...] They start to play – J. is leading from the violin by playing. ‘Let’s think of these chords as a mist – let’s start right at the top – right at the fingerboard’. The sound is really lovely – particularly with all the double basses. It’s interesting to note where people are sitting – the younger people seem to be more at the front of the section. Later I find out that there haven’t been seats allocated and that people are encouraged to move around to different seats. There are some very good cellists mixed in amongst the section [...]. J. is basically guiding the orchestra by playing – using his whole body, occasionally he ‘conducts’ with the bow. They play through the whole movement without stopping. ‘We’re really going to have to be strict about our pulse’ – talking/working as a collective. ‘Without telling anyone not to rush or anything let’s see if we can find a flexible speed where everyone can play what they’ve got – firsts, listen to the pizzicato’. Talking about communication between parts – ‘Seconds, you can be a bit more assertive with your pizzicato – just to let them know what’s going on – if you have triplets, keep it on the string – start at the tip – when we get to fortissimo could we try everyone using the whole bow – it might make a totally ridiculous sound’. J. is alternating between playing the first and second violin part – he doesn’t seem to be using a score as he keeps asking for clarification about bar numbers etc’. To the cellos he says ‘We’ve reached the climax of the whole movement and he’s given it to you – don’t worry about being together – I just want to hear lots of individuals – not people trying to blend – I’m not interested in blend at this point’. ‘I’ll show it to you but you all have to get faster individually – if you’re all waiting for the next person nothing’s going to happen.’

String orchestra, 7.8.12

As I noted in a memo alongside this observation, the tutor's approach here does not imply that he has control or the 'answer', but suggests that a successful musical outcome is something that comes as a result of group playing and is derived solely from the group. The tutor demonstrates a high level of personal expertise, provides skilful direction and technical advice, but also passes responsibility over to the collective and places himself on an equal footing with them in experimenting – 'it might make a totally ridiculous sound'. My observation that people have been encouraged to move around is also notable; this seems a conscious attempt to break down the usual hierarchies in seating that characterise orchestras.

Jane is a very experienced DISS tutor, as was evident from my observation of her class. She clearly 'had a plan', commencing the lesson with a formal demonstration and discussion of ornamentation approaches in Baroque music, led by the two more advanced students in the class, and then working her way through the diverse range of learners in the group, tailoring her teaching expertly to their needs and ensuring that each person was challenged and supported just enough to make progress. One of the advanced students also played a complex contemporary piece, not always entirely successfully; this move from confident leader to less confident learner illustrates how even within one session of a course, DISS residents may fulfil more than one role. Jane's teaching embodied a 'transformative' pedagogy; through her careful differentiation of teaching and handing over ownership over the learning to the students she was able to ensure that learning took place for every participant. Carey et al.'s (2013) study of 1:1 teaching in conservatoires explores transformative and transfer pedagogy, finding that transformative pedagogy's primary goals relate to learning not performance; it emphasises student ownership, and is characterised by pedagogical agility, typified by collaborative, explorative, scaffolded, meaningful, and contextualising qualities. By contrast, transfer pedagogy is a largely didactic approach, with an objective of 'defined' excellence, as opposed to the 'expansive' excellence of transformative learning. It is characterised by instruction, scaffolding that promotes mimicry, less flexibility, orientation towards assessment and decontextualized learning. When DISS tutors are at their most effective, they exemplify transformative pedagogy; 'transfer' pedagogy is also in evidence, but is more common in 'rehearsal' type situations when there is a defined, performance based outcome to the course, an

aspect which will be explored further in the subsequent section discussing performance.

Jane's use of a blend of formal and more non-formal teaching approaches serve to create an atmosphere focused on learning and achievement, and her use of more advanced students as fellow tutors contributed to the formation of a community of practice, where these students were able to move closer to the centre of the community – as illustrated by their reflection above on what they had learned from watching her teach. Jane also reflected on how she was able to learn from the teaching experience, reflecting a Freirean perspective in her positioning of herself:

You can learn from them as well ... everybody's there with different interests, so some people love the French Baroque ... but then yesterday I had somebody playing a piece with all circular breathing, it was completely completely different and so you've got all these different things, which, obviously I'm much more knowledgeable about some areas than others, but it's quite interesting actually, seeing, sort of working with people on a piece that you don't know necessarily, but actually thinking about the performance aspect of it, or picking up on other things.

Jane, tutor

There are many similarities between a 'DISS pedagogy' and that found in non-formal learning environments, such as the community music pedagogy described by Veblen (2007). She defines community music as encompassing all kinds of music and a wide range of participants, including the disadvantaged and marginalized, focused on lifelong learning, open access and the social and personal wellbeing of group members, with a pedagogy that prioritizes active, self-directed learning and a fluidity of roles within the group, with the capacity to move from creator to leader to observer (as exemplified by Jane's class above).

Camlin (2015) also discusses community music and the need to be able to 'read the group'

taking an account of the different perspectives present to greater or lesser extents in any given group, and understanding what kind of intervention or

action, using what kinds of skills and techniques, will best support the group to work towards whatever goal has been set for the group's development, either implicitly or explicitly.

Camlin, 2015; 238

DISS does mirror many of these qualities of community music, with some notable differences – most importantly that the 'group' is both time-limited and fluid, since as several tutors observed, daily attendance is not compulsory and the composition of the group can differ substantially during the week. Camlin describes the need for community musicians to understand 'the 'dialogic space' that exists within the bounds of any given group of people' (Camlin, 2015; 239), which can be challenging when the membership of the group is flexible, and when a musical 'end product' is required, a problem to be explored later. Camlin also highlights goals set for group development, which in the DISS context may be different for each member.

Aspects of this community music pedagogy do work very effectively at DISS; Alan's diary describes the free improvisation class led by Dominic, where he combines the enabling of creative dialogue between course members with playing alongside them:

Have a great time teaming up with M., and trying lots of voice/piano ideas out together before Dominic came and played with us himself for the impro we then played to the others.

Alan, older resident, DD

Dominic described his role in teaching this class as 'a guide and observer [...] it's almost like part of the class' (Dominic, tutor) and this positionality is evident in Alan's experience of participating in the course. As Camlin (2015; 246) notes, 'from a dialogic perspective, teaching and facilitation are part of the same continuum'. Megan's approach to teaching illustrated dialogue in other forms, as illustrated during my observation of her harpsichord class - 'It's so nice when J. [audience member] just nods – it's instant feedback, it's a miracle to me that we can have so much improvement'. Here, Megan draws on embodied dialogue in the form of a 'nod' to involve the audience in her acknowledgement of the progress that the learner has made. Chappell

(2012) places the capacity to empathise at the heart of embodied dialogue as exemplified in dance, and Megan's approach throughout her class was extremely physical – 'she listens with her eyes shut and moves with the music. She is barefoot, I notice'. In this respect, she echoes J.'s approach to leading the string orchestra rehearsal, where again musicianship is both embodied and discussed. Like J., Megan also encouraged dialogue: 'She refers a lot to imagination – asking pupils to imagine other instruments etc. She makes a lot of comparisons to other areas/types of music'.

Kingsbury (1988) and Nettl (1995) both discuss how in the undergraduate context teachers can become the focal point of a group of students, either by engineering a feeling of cohesive identity or simply by creating common ground between individuals, and the extent to which some tutors seek to form a group identity within their classes is notable. A cello class demonstrated how a group dynamic can be created by a shared warm-up exercise, in which the tutor plays alongside the learners:

[The tutor asks] 'Who's got the nice A today? That'll do!' They all tune together [...] 'I've just had an idea, let's split in 2 so we can play the exercise in thirds, so it will sound a bit more harmonious'. They start to play an exercise – there are obviously lots of different levels in the room, some people are struggling more than others to find the notes. 'Let's make a really beautiful sound, let's fill this whole room with sound!' She's calling out lots of instructions as they play 'Never stop breathing, never stop sitting well' 'Let's make some crescendos and decrescendos so it's something musical'. They finish and she suggests that maybe later in the week they might like to find some cello ensemble music. They start practising a wrist exercise – 'Have you guys been practising like this? Any positive/negative feedback?' Everyone is playing together – she gives odd bits of individual feedback – focussing briefly on one individual but then suggesting that everyone try what that individual is finding difficult. 'There's one more exercise that I wanted to add today which is nice – I do two of them in the morning but I'll show you one'. [...] 'This is school work – this is like school for these exercises'. The folk cello tutor arrives and gets out his cello to join in as well. One girl has a specific problem with a finger – [the tutor] asks

her to play on her own – ‘You need a lot of practice on that’. Finishing the exercise, she says ‘Very very good – I’m impressed’, smiling round at everyone.

Cello workshop, 7.8.12

In this extract, the tutor balances explicitly formal teaching of cello technique – ‘this is school work’ with a more ‘improvisatory’ approach, in which she places herself alongside the learners – ‘I’ve just had an idea...’. She also positions herself as a learner with her reference to her own daily practice. She integrates working with the whole group and targeting individuals, as well as balancing making ‘music’ with technical aspects of playing. The participation of the folk tutor in the class is noteworthy; taking part in classes in this way is another way that DISS residents may switch roles from tutor to learner.

Hanken and Long (2012) identify how ‘a positive culture of acceptance and support’ of this kind can develop when students attend and perform in masterclasses, stating that ‘it creates a possible arena for developing co-operative attitudes concerning how to support and inspire each other and learn from each other’ (7). Many classes at DISS follow the ‘masterclass’ format, which is rooted in the master-apprentice model of teaching typically found in the conservatoire ‘made possible by the embodied authority of the teacher, and by her or his charismatic authority’ (Atkinson et al. 2013; 487). It follows a set pattern, discourse and etiquette – typified by intrinsic or implied power relationships – and assumes a high level of preparation and skill from the student (Hanken & Long, 2012). Masterclasses tend to focus on repertoire, through interpretation and performance rather than technique, and are dedicated to an accurate and stylistic representation of the score (Hanken, 2010; Hanken & Long, 2012; Atkinson et al. 2013; Haddon, 2013; Hanken, 2015), which may be challenging with the less experienced musicians encountered at DISS, as Dominic identified: ‘violin workshop, which always starts out trying to teach people repertoire and in fact it’s a brilliant idea because it ends up being a class in how to play the violin’ (Dominic, tutor).

It can be challenging for other reasons too to reconcile this masterclass format, rooted in socio-cultural and musical expectations, and intrinsically hierarchical in structure, with the democratic DISS pedagogy described above. An important aspect of the masterclass is the requirement to balance the needs of the performer and the

audience (Hanken, 2010), which presents a challenge in the DISS context. Tutors need to find a way to ensure that the audience 'benefits', either from a learning or an audience perspective; this is complicated by the issue that often much of the 'audience' is comprised of people who have paid a significant amount of money to be there, which leads to an added sense of responsibility on the tutor's part to meet their needs:

The first responsibility is to the person singing ... but yes, you're working with people in the room, but they're more involved as a reflection of what the singer is doing so I do think I feel a responsibility in that sense to them as individuals, I think I feel a responsibility to them [to keep] them involved so that they're not bored ... they pay money to come here and listen as well as perform.

Reuben, tutor

Erin describes an example where in her perception, this relationship works:

I watched part of S.'s [vocal] masterclass which was brilliant. There were a few people with beautiful voices, but the highlight was T.'s aria, because of the way S. got him to use the whole room, and everyone there rallied around him and got involved in the performance. It was as if we were the opera chorus, sharing in his emotions, and the atmosphere was amazingly supportive. Not to mention the fact that it was very entertaining! I love watching someone draw good performances out of singers.

Erin, tutor, DD

Her comment on how the tutor involves the audience is echoed by Reuben's perspective on how he does this as a tutor:

R: I'd like to think I had ... an empathy with the students as individuals and also an understanding of the audience as individuals so you're able to relate not just to the student who's a student and a singer but to the audience and I think that dynamic I quite enjoy ...

HRK: So do you feel involving the audience is important?

R: I think it is what makes a masterclass a masterclass. Otherwise it's observing a singing lesson... generally just trying to include, asking people what they think, of a sound, not just telling the person that sounded better, but asking the audience – and they get nearly the right word for it, the other people in the room, whether they would agree or disagree or if they have different ideas.

Reuben, tutor

Reuben understands the need to relate to both the 'performer' and the 'audience' in the masterclass scenario, but a comparison with my own observation of his teaching illustrates how just understanding this is not always enough; after around ten minutes of the class had passed, my observation notes:

Audience behaviour – one is typing on an iPad, one is leaning right back in his seat with his arms folded (quite an arrogant posture!). There hasn't been any interaction between R. and the audience so far.

Singing workshop 5, 26.8.12

Later in the class there was some interaction with the audience:

'You can probably help us here with a bit of anatomy' – addressing the man with the arrogant pose- he mentions the soft palate. Asks the whole class to join to have a go. Chooses man with arrogant pose to demonstrate – 'I've got to choose someone at random'.

Singing workshop 5, 26.8.12

As I noted in a memo alongside this observation, the selection of the man 'with the arrogant pose' to provide input about the anatomy of singing was probably not 'at random'; this does illustrate the knowledge of the audience to which Reuben referred, as presumably previous interactions with this individual indicated that he would not only give the correct response to the question but would appreciate being made to feel knowledgeable (substantiated by my observation of his 'arrogant posture'). Jackie adopted a more formal approach to involving the audience in her piano class:

‘I’d like to go round the room and see if anyone’s got any feedback for you – things that sounded good, suggestions’. – Someone refers to the triplets and duplets not working together – she has her score open and is commenting on the basis of this. They play separately and together – Jackie – ‘Does everyone know this, it’s the nice cup of tea rhythm’ – getting everyone to tap duplets against triplets.

Piano duet class, 19.8.13

This kind of approach may be more appropriate in the DISS context, as it balances the input for the learner currently playing as well as those in the room, as well as allowing for the sharing of opinions and acknowledging that there may be people in the room with significant experience and/or expertise.

In a ‘typical’ masterclass situation, the renown of the ‘master’ is significant in both attracting students to the class and adding credibility to the guidance given. As Atkinson et al. (2013) note, the masterclass is a highly performative format – for the tutor as well as the student. The tutors’ presentation of their musical selves at DISS sometimes coincided with this type of relationship, with an extreme example coming from one of the singing tutors:

[The tutor] starts the class by saying “This is a horrible question - does everyone know who I am and what I do?” He went on to introduce himself, referring to performing at La Scala etc.

Singing workshop 1, 22.7.12

This overtly hierarchical presentation and identification with elite musical performance was rare, but many of the tutors did give insight into their own musical lives and identities as a part of their teaching. In some cases, this was a way of identifying with the learners:

Lucy is demonstrating vocal chords coming together – ‘Mine’s not very good because my voice is not in perfect shape’ – she’s making lots of references to herself ageing and her voice deteriorating and not improving – but she says

that your artistry improves as you get older even if your voice doesn't, so the combined result is the same!

Singing workshop 2, 31.7.12

At other times, these insights were used to illustrate a point:

Philip makes reference to his own performance – drawing attention to the different roles of teacher and performer. He talks about what the experience of playing the piano is like for the performer as opposed to the audience.

Piano workshop 1, 7.8.13

In both of these examples, the tutors demonstrate a more Freirean approach to pedagogy, where they present themselves as learners alongside the students. Elizabeth, an experienced DISS tutor, adapted a democratic positioning throughout her class:

Elizabeth makes positive comments after each performance and before applause. On lots of occasions she asks the opinion of other 'experts' in the room (another singing tutor, the rhetoric guy). Comments such as "You can do this much better than I can".

Singing masterclass, 22.7.12

A significant factor when considering DISS pedagogy is the longevity of tutors' attendance. The following extract from my observation of Philip's piano class demonstrates how someone new to tutoring can be somewhat thrown by the situation:

Debate about whether this is a masterclass or not – there's a lot of uncertainty about it, in the end I try and explain a bit how it might work. P. is keen for people not to miss out if there is an opportunity for them to play. Class starts with P. asking who played yesterday – one lady says 'I don't mind when I play as long as I play' 'You've volunteered yourself!'

Piano workshop 1, 7.8.13

I noted a similar situation in Timothy's class, also new to tutoring at DISS:

Two people behind me are looking at their music and chatting – it feels like people in the audience are quite bored but T. is not doing much to engage them. He's a lovely teacher but not necessarily great in a group situation. His demonstrations are extremely impressive from a musical point of view.

Piano workshop 2, 20.8.13

The challenges faced by Philip and Timothy relate to the definition of the course type – the semantics of 'whether it is a masterclass or not' will be discussed later on – and also to the practicalities of arranging the timetable and engaging those who are not playing. Another comes in the form of the limited time available to work with them, which for Reuben was a positive aspect:

That's one of the things that's quite fun actually is to try and quite quickly pick up what - as opposed to singing lessons where you get to know somebody quite well, when you're in the intense way and in a different way, I think I quite like that, it's not a criticism of Dartington in any way – it's a good thing.

Reuben, tutor

Dominic had a less positive view:

The reality is that this is fake teaching, I have no connection with these people, I have no way of knowing whether anybody will a week or so later be even thinking about what I've said, but some of them will because they have come back to my class again which means they wanted to do it, and I kept in touch a little bit with some of them, but ... it's momentary teaching.

Dominic, tutor

His characterisation of DISS pedagogy as 'momentary teaching' can be compared with the discussion above of the 'instant effect' in singing classes. Dominic is absolutely right that time with each student is limited, but this is to some extent remedied by the long-term attendance of many tutors and residents. This allows tutors to get to know

the learners over time – as was evidenced in Jane’s recorder class, where many of the participants were people she had worked with before:

There are some people who come back every year and have been coming for 20 years – in fact when I took over the class, because I came as a student when I was about 15 or something, and when I first came there were a couple of people who I now teach who were there who remembered me from when I was a student, so they’ve obviously been coming for years and they obviously really love it, and some of them don’t necessarily particularly improve, but they come. It’s very different for them than it is for say the students, who again I’ve had quite a few, so I had three students from Birmingham come last year and they’ve come again this year and that’s great because I can actually really see, I’ve really seen an improvement in three of them.

Jane, tutor

Jane’s comments reflect the diverse aspirations of DISS residents; for those who ‘don’t necessarily particularly improve’, their goal in attending her class may not be to make the focussed improvement she describes in those on a professional pathway, but to play their chosen repertoire to her as a valued and respected tutor, or simply to enjoy the experience of watching others learn. This could be frustrating for the tutor, but as long as they do not see lack of progress to be a reflection of their own ability as a teacher, they can also enjoy seeing those students who do progress - Dominic described the progress from the previous year of one learner:

I’m still amazed even watching her, with technical difficulties just as how beautifully she sat and the sound quality was so much better, even on a rubbish violin - which can be really raspy and horrible, just really lovely to watch.

Dominic, tutor

However, the condensed timeframe indubitably sets limits on what can be achieved, as Philip describes:

You meet them six times, there are nine students, if you do the maths there's not a lot of time to work with each one ... in these sort of courses, you can't, you can only sow a few seeds – maybe repeat what their teacher's probably been telling them for the last five years anyway, or maybe just a few different ideas, or try this, or have you thought of that composer - and hopefully they'll go away and feel happy...

Philip, tutor

Philip here describes how he balances his intentions as a tutor with the learner's expectations, aspirations and attitude; his hope that they will 'go away and feel happy' along with the notion of 'sowing a few seeds' illustrates how he may feel that it is difficult to teach to the best of his ability under these circumstances, particularly in comparison with his everyday musical life.

The lack of time to get to know learners can also cause specific difficulties, as described by Caroline:

I was actually put off by one particular person, I have a curved spine and because I can't stand up very well that person actually put me against a wall and pushed my shoulders back and it was painful and very embarrassing - I'm a very shy person and I haven't actually done a masterclass since ... I didn't have the courage to, I didn't want to be horrid to that person, I didn't have the courage to say anything, I quietly went away.

Caroline, older resident

This scenario presents the worst of what might happen in the context of a summer school, where unlike in a regular 1:1 teaching context in which the teacher would have time to get to know the individual pupil, teaching is rapid, and played out in public.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter has explored the DISS teaching and learning community as an opportunity for individuals from varied communities of practice to come together as teachers and learners. For some, this involves playing an unfamiliar part by fulfilling an alternative

identity as a teacher; for others, it contributes to their lifelong musical identity as learners as they witness their own progress and that of others. Masterclass pedagogy has been transferred from the formal environment of the conservatoire to the diverse community of practice at DISS, presenting both benefits and challenges. A transformative, dialogic DISS pedagogy, often demonstrated by long-term tutors and motivated by a deep commitment to and understanding of the diverse community, emerges, in contrast with the 'momentary teaching' imposed by the limited time-frame of DISS.

Thinking devices

- The unique and particular combination of different musical pathways amongst learners at DISS allows for 'mimetic' learning to be combined with a more goal-orientated approach to professional development, a combination which may be both beneficial and challenging to the musical self-identity.
- The DISS pedagogy arises in response to the diverse learning community and varied experiences of teachers; sharing and communicating this pedagogy within and beyond DISS has potential value for music education.

Chapter 7: Taking part together

Schütz's important 1951 paper, 'Making music together', highlights the fundamentally collaborative, dialogic nature of musical activity. Schütz describes communication whose primary purpose is not an exchange of expression by one interlocutor and interpretation by another; rather, he cites a 'tuning-in' process whereby through the momentary act of making music, 'I' and 'Thou' become 'We' in 'vivid presence' (Schütz, 1951; 79). The DISS community presents numerous opportunities for the creation of a 'We' through verbal and musical dialogues between people who in everyday life might not encounter each other musically. These interactions can be explored from the perspective of conceptions of musical talent and ability, musical process and product, making music in groups, and making music with a conductor. Each of these will be considered in this chapter, following an analysis of musical relationships and dialogues more generally.

Musical relationships and dialogues

Christopher Small's totemic 'Musicking' (1998) locates 'musical meaning' in the relationships that arise between performer, audience, musical work and composer in the *act* of making music. Writing in 2011, Small reiterates the centrality of musical relationships to personal 'musical meaning' and identity, stating that they

...act out ideal or desired relationships as they are imagined to be by those taking part. And since who we are is how we relate, then to take part in an act of musicking is to take part in an act of self definition, an exploration, an affirmation and a celebration of one's identity, of who one is. In an act of musicking those taking part are exploring, affirming and celebrating their sense of who they are – or who they think they are, or who they would like to be, or even what they would like to be thought of as being.

Small, 2011; xi

Schütz (1951) prefigures Small, also considering the social relations between performer, listener and composer to be fundamental to music's power to

communicate meaning. In his framing, performers act as intermediaries between listener and composer, uniting all three in a moment of suspended time, a 'reciprocal sharing of the other's flux of experiences in inner time, by living through a vivid present together, by experiencing this togetherness as a "We."' (Schütz, 1951; 96). Small and Schütz's concepts of dialogue and musical relationships encapsulate much of what is significant about the experience of attending DISS: the potential for identity framing and reframing through making music together, and the 'time out of life' afforded by the moment of musical production.

Nerland (2007) and Ansdell (2014) provide two contrasting views of the musical work as 'object' and its relationship with those who interact with it:

Another discourse that operates in [the conservatoire professor's] teaching concerns a conceptualisation of the *musical work as an object with inherent meaning and qualities*. The musical compositions are given a paradigmatic position from which the construction of meaning in the lessons derives...Allied to this discourse is a strong belief in the power of music to affect human beings.

Nerland, 2007; 405

It's not that some 'musical object' arrives and transports the listener or player, but rather that there's an active and gradual cultivation of music, which offers itself as a fluid and flexible partner within specific social situations. The relationship evolves through repeated meetings, with help from varied media and resources (recordings, rehearsals, concerts, conversations, study and so on).

Ansdell, 2014; 7

Nerland presents a perception of the musical work as paramount, offering the potential for decoding and interpretation by the performer, whilst Ansdell conceptualises making music as a series of multi-layered and evolving relationships with the 'partner' that is music, involving people, objects, places and aspirations in a dynamic process of 'cultivation'. DISS offers a space to consider how the relationships described by Ansdell alter and are shaped by the expectations and possibilities offered

by their components. These relationships also contribute to the formulation and reformulation of musical identity, as discussed earlier; how people view themselves in comparison to other residents therefore becomes significant in diverse ways.

These relationships are made and articulated through dialogue – both verbal and musical – for which DISS provides multiple opportunities. The dialogic relationship was explored extensively by Bakhtin, whose concept of the dialogic imagination resonates strongly at DISS. In his theorisation, language is not an artefact, but a processual phenomenon with two fundamental aspects: an ‘active creative capacity’ and ‘the always evaluative nature of meaning’ (Morris, 1994; 4). Context is central to both aspects, as

the dialogic orientation of a word among other words (of all kinds and degrees of otherness) creates new and significant artistic potential in discourse.

Bakhtin, 1981; 275

The ‘other’ in a dialogic exchange therefore offers the potential for new creations, and dialogic spaces become rich with possibility. Allied to his conception of the carnivalesque as a time out of life, Bakhtin’s work sheds light on the possibility of the development of new languages and ways of being, contrasting with the more ‘usual’ musical languages, discourses and behaviours experienced by DISS residents.

Peters (1999) frames dialogue with a Utopian consideration of communication more broadly, describing communication as

a registry of modern longings [evoking] a Utopia where nothing is misunderstood, hearts are open, and expression is uninhibited.

Peters, 1999; 2

He presents communication as a perceived panacea for the troubles of modern life, offering ‘an apparent answer to the painful divisions between self and other, private and public, and inner thought and outer world’ (2). Peters contrasts this with a call to embrace the ‘ultimate futility’ of our attempts to communicate in ways that are immediately understood by the ‘other’, replacing it with an acknowledgement of ‘the splendid otherness of all creatures that share our world’ (31). DISS residents are

offered exposure to multiple musical 'others', enabling dialogic exchanges which may be as destabilising as they are creative or exciting.

Kathy gives a good example of the dialogue enabled by DISS. She is unusual in that there is significant crossover between her 'everyday' life as an administrator in a music college and DISS, where she encounters the same type of person, but in a different relational space where they are co-creators of a musical outcome.

You learn so much from just speaking with them ... often there are music students, you sit next to them in whatever you're playing, and when they know your background they get comfortable with you, because I think they're as nervous as you are sometimes, because they don't know where you've come from or what you're there for, but it's interesting the dynamics that sort of develop, and you start off chatting ... but also they're very interested in how you've come about, and also I think they feel that they'd quite like to help if you know what I mean, so I think they feel that they're being helpful and supportive and they get something out of that, much the same as you're giving them something because you're giving them your experience and you can play ... there are certain things that you know and you've gathered over time.

Kathy, older resident

These example pinpoints two roles of music-making between musicians of different pathways. It is both a dialogic process of collaborative music-making, where each party has something to learn from the other, and an enabling situation where the more technically capable musicians 'help' to achieve a more satisfying musical outcome, allowing an amateur musician like Kathy to access repertoire more effectively. The type of exchange she describes embodies Sennett's (2012) definition of 'dialogic' as

a discussion which does not resolve itself by finding common ground [...] through the process of exchange people may become more aware of their own views and expand their understanding of one another.

Sennett, 2012; 19

Kathy's words also highlight how her lifelong experience music-making can enter into dialogue with the technical facility of the younger students to create a mutually supportive environment. From the students' perspective, this kind of dialogic exchange can be valuable in terms of engaging with a group of people who may be unfamiliar to them; Perkins et al. (2014), researching conservatoire students teaching older adults, found that this activity represented a

departure from the norm for the majority of conservatoire students, requiring them to step beyond their specialisms and to engage in new practices, with new people and in new spaces.

Perkins, Aufegger & Williamon, 2014; 2

The researchers found that these pedagogic relationships facilitated reformulation of how younger students perceived their older counterparts, and saw the potential for positive impact in other educational contexts; the kind of dialogue Kathy describes is potentially more valuable still as it is founded in musical co-creation, rather than a formal teaching and learning relationship. Through making music together, and the conversations that arise spontaneously during this activity, both Kathy and the students find out more about each other as people and therefore have the potential to go beyond stereotypical views of 'the other', and enter what Camlin (2015; 241) terms 'the space between'.

Camlin (2015; 241) regards dialogics as 'another way of regarding the non-conceptual, liminality, the 'spaces in between''. This identification of the indefinable as the most meaningful quality of dialogue – defined only by the perspectives of those who participate in it – might be a way of trying to capture that elusive 'Dartington spirit', the 'alchemy' of the atmosphere which is so frequently referred to but never quite defined. It does not matter what it is, for in Camlin's presentation, it is the process of co-creation that matters, not necessarily the outcome. Exchanges such as that described by Kathy above facilitate a musical relationship which values the expertise and experience of all those taking part and playing their part.

A counter-argument to the dialogic value of the space between is provided by Putnam (2007), who suggests that first-hand experience of diversity makes people withdraw, whereas people living in homogeneous local communities are more curious

about others in the larger world. This argument would suggest that putting together a mixed community at DISS may undermine rather than reinforce the capacity for dialogue. Schütz's (1951) presentation of the 'reciprocal sharing of the other's flux of experiences in inner time, by living through a vivid present together' (96) brought about by musical 'tuning-in' would seem to imply that the act of music-making is inclusive by definition, since all those involved in the 'musicking' he describes are 'included' in communicating with each other and with the musical object. This approach presupposes a desire for the interlocutors to understand each other, at least in the musical moment; and if this desire is absent, the value of the dialogic exchange and the 'space between' may be lost. McClary, writing thirty years ago, considered that

We have a priesthood of professionals [...] and, on the other hand, we have a laity of listeners who respond strongly to music but have little conscious critical control over it. Because non-professional listeners usually do not know how to account intellectually for how music does what it does, they respond either by mystifying it [...] or by domesticating it [...] Neither priest nor consumer truly wants to break the spell: to reveal the social grounding of that magic.

McClary, 1987; 17

Although it could be argued that the twenty-first century musical universe enables a much higher degree of 'conscious critical control' over music-making and listening, there is nevertheless a grain of truth in McClary's words when considering DISS; the DISScourse described above often serves to maintain the 'spell', and the desire not to 'reveal the social grounding' of the Dartington 'magic' remains strong in many cases. Dialogues and exchanges with the 'other' might therefore serve more to reinforce than challenge difference, a question which will be now explored in the context of talent and musical standards.

Making comparisons: talent and musical standards

Research in the field of music psychology indicates strongly that musical aptitude is a universal human attribute, developed through the provision of appropriate learning

opportunities (Welch, 2006; McPherson & Hallam, 2009). Anthropological and sociological perspectives illustrate further that it is the social (and musical) surroundings which condition the appearance of 'talent', which is to be differentiated from musical craft and the practical skills of playing an instrument or singing. Kingsbury (1988) argues for the contextual specificity of talent, finding that in the conservatoire environment musical 'talent' as a quantifiable capability is attributed entirely by others; the person making the attribution becomes an important part of the talent itself. In his view 'talent' is the property of a cultural (musical) ideology, rather than belonging to the individual. This perspective is also examined by DeNora (1995), dissecting the 'genius' of Beethoven, which she links to a complex web of musical lineages, stories and 'myths' about his prowess as a composer and performer, many of which were auto-generated or manipulated, stemming as much from the contemporary relationships of patronage, social class and musical lineages as from his musical ability. However, as El-Ghadban states:

Despite the deconstruction in music studies of romantic conceptions of the artist, recitals, auditions, and competitions are still organised as treasure hunts for the "gifted" prodigy or the "raw talent" yet to be discovered or cultivated.

El-Ghadban, 2009; 141

As El-Ghadban notes, there is much evidence of a widespread popular belief that musical talent is something which some people have and others do not (Hallam, 2010; Ruddock, 2005). This view echoes McClary's (1987) identification of the 'mythical' qualities often ascribed to performing classical musicians, and is substantiated by the findings of my pilot study, in which amateur members of a choir combining amateur and professional singers perceived the professional members as 'talented', due to being 'naturally blessed' and 'born with a gift' combined with having 'worked incredibly hard' (Keene, 2015; 13). This perspective reflects both Gagné's (1985) argument for 'giftedness' which comes into fruition as 'talent', defined as demonstrable skill in a specific area, and Sloboda's (Sloboda & Howe, 1991; Sloboda et al., 1996) proposition that practice is fundamental in developing musical ability. For Lamont (2011; 371), amongst others, the talent discourse is inhibiting, as 'the dominance of the talent account, particularly for older generations, has led to some

extremely negative and off-putting early musical experiences in music education'. Many adults recount childhood exclusion from musical activities, particularly singing, because of a perceived lack of ability, and the ongoing effects of this exclusion on their musical lives.

Within the conservatoire environment Kingsbury (1998) describes, there are numerous ways in which students and teachers are aware of the differing abilities of those around them. Perkins' (2013a) case study of one UK conservatoire categorises these into four intertwined areas of the 'learning culture', all of which shape the professional possibilities available to individual students: performing specialism and the privileging of performance; social and professional networking, with the acquisition of 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1977) through being proactive and independent; musical hierarchies and the relational positioning of students, with the associated status of musical 'favourites'; and vocational position taking, shaping the professional possibilities available to individual students. DISS offers the opportunity to become part of a different 'learning culture', where different people are 'favourites' and different opportunities for networking and performance are opened up. Here I will focus on how conceptions of 'talent' and musical 'standards' manifest themselves at DISS, considering the ways in which its residents define themselves or others relationally and musically, whilst exploring and developing their own musical facility and craft.

Musical standards at DISS

DISS presents certain practical problems regarding definitions of standards, stemming from the registration form's requirement to identify as Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced or Diploma level. This self-classification is used in some cases to help organise courses; Celia, co-ordinating chamber music provision, describes how this process is challenged by the requirement to self-identify:

A lot of the musicians who had estimated in their application forms that they were 'advanced' were technically quite capable, but may not have had a lot of experience in one-to-a-part ensembles – a very different skill to playing in a large string section. [...] It is almost impossible to gauge ability levels in

advance: inevitably some people over-estimate their abilities, and some underestimate. There is also the question of ensemble experience – some quite competent amateur musicians have no idea how to work in a group without a conductor, but also resent the help of a coach.

Celia, tutor, DD

Musical 'ability' is based on more than just facility at playing notes; in Celia's view, it also encompasses the ability to play independently, use one's skills flexibly, and be open to the possibility of making progress; so defining oneself as 'intermediate' could never be enough of a classifier. Burwell (2012) states that

Our use of words, in discussing music, musical skill and the acquisition of musical skill, encapsulates a good deal about our understanding of these concepts. Musical phenomena do not consist in words, and discussing them is notoriously difficult; and yet musicians do discuss them, and with some confidence, often in language particularly adapted to the purpose.

Burwell, 2012; 276

Whilst I agree with the first part of this statement, I am not convinced by the last part – often language used to describe 'musical skill' is not 'particularly adapted to the purpose', as is evident from Celia's words above. This failure of language to capture musical 'ability' is further evidenced at DISS by the wide variety of ways in which people refer to their own musical skill level, and that of others. In some cases, terms were used which relate to broader conceptions of musical ability outside DISS – four tutors referred to 'beginners' in their classes and ensembles. This is an interesting denotation given that, outside the non-Western and Early Brass courses discussed above, it is rare to attend DISS as a complete 'beginner'; it could be assumed therefore that the tutors' use of this term is relative, compared to the more 'advanced' students they also referenced. Alongside this term, the words 'low level' 'competent', 'advanced', 'amateur' and 'virtuoso' were also used to denote skill levels, by people referring to both themselves and others.

The question of individuals' musical self-classification connects to a wider issue concerning the accurate marketing of DISS as a whole. In order to provide a truly

inclusive, mixed-level experience, there is an institutional need – and concurrent pressure - to recruit capable and experienced musicians alongside those who are at a different stage in their musical development. This can lead to frustrating misrepresentations:

I chat to a lady who's had a disappointing experience here – she's a professional flautist and she was expecting to be working intensely at the top level, but she has been disappointed by the standard of chamber music – about grade 5/6 she says – and says that's she's ended up doing a lot of coaching with the pianist she was working with 'he's had a lot of my time'. She feels that the summer school is misrepresented in its own publicity and that they should be a lot clearer about what the actual levels are.

FN, 2.8.12

The issue of accurate representation links to DISS' long history and reputation as a centre of excellence, which is now beginning to change:

it is a much broader mix of music-making or musicians than I'd thought, somehow, the name Dartington in my mind had become associated with very high standards and with it being very difficult to get a place on the composition course for example, and I suppose that's true actually, in the case of the advanced courses that is true, but I hadn't really realised that there was a lot else happening.

Graham, younger resident

In recent years there has been a sense amongst long-term residents that standards are declining and that DISS no longer attracts the musicians of the calibre that it once did. This has been accompanied by a blurring of the boundaries between activities; as discussed above, in its first years, activities for 'amateurs' and 'professionals' were defined separately, which initially continued with a clear difference between 'workshops' and 'masterclasses':

We used to have the masterclass and workshop which was much more delineated ... you used to have to audition in the old days, you'd have a masterclass on the first Monday with lots of people, with everyone singing or playing - and the workshop was everyone.

Luke, tutor

Matthew, who has been attending for a similar length of time to Luke, described his own experience when a bursary student of the selection process for a masterclass:

[The tutor] said 'well obviously there's so many of you that what I'd like to do is hear you, then I'll put up a list later, and you'll see who I've chosen to play', and the first person who played she'd obviously been here lots before, she'd studied, she'd been everywhere, she'd been studying in the Ukraine, and she sat down and played the Lizst Rigoletto Paraphrase, and then this thirteen year old boy sat down and played ... the first Chopin study really really fast and quite well, and I was there with two friends from Trinity, and we were sort of, oh my God, and on it went like that, and there were also the usual keen amateurs that you get here and of course he didn't select any of those, but what I'm saying is that at that time and for him there was a very high standard, and Joanna MacGregor used to get very interesting students as well, and then Nika Shoot – you know her, she was sort of about ten or eleven when I first met her and she used to come and play in the classes, we had to persuade Bernard Roberts to let her play because she'd played in someone else's class and we'd all been impressed.

Matthew, accompanist

Both Matthew and Luke, as long-term DISS residents, are imbued with its discourse, which comes through strongly here. They both refer to the past in mythologizing terms, and there is a sense of nostalgia for 'better days', reflecting the tendency of Utopian visions to hark back to a perceived better age. These extracts indicate the ways that long-term DISS residents refer to different types of musicians, to some extent concretising their status; they refer to the tutors as 'illustrious' and a 'big name', make a correlation between youth and talent, and clearly demarcate between

‘keen amateurs’ and those who are ‘talented’. For some people though, the distinction between masterclass and workshop remains sacrosanct – ‘because I’m not a particularly good trumpeter I’m never going to actually go to the masterclasses’ (Grace, younger resident). Grace’s words highlight the issues surrounding DISS’ reliance on self-identification of standards; indubitably there are other ‘not particularly good trumpeters’ who would not be as self-censuring as Grace in terms of choosing to attend the masterclass.

Comparative musical ability is also referred to at DISS in terms of musical behaviours, such as playing solo or in small ensembles, and training received. The context Eilidh gives for singing in a masterclass demonstrates this:

I’m not a trained singer in public, but I know that, I’m nowhere near, professional or something like that, but some people are nervous about singing in public – but I knew I’d a lot to learn.

Eilidh, older resident

Here, she compares herself negatively to ‘trained’ and ‘professional’ singers, but positively to people who are ‘nervous about singing in public’, placing herself therefore somewhere between the two. This comparative positioning is common amongst DISS residents, both when referring to themselves and to others. This can be positive, as described by Susan – ‘playing with other people, meeting other people and finding you’re not as bad as you thought you were’ (Susan, older resident) – or can be more negative, as in Renee’s experience:

It was a bit judgemental last year amongst the chamber music people, the other participants, and I think that’s a shame because it’s all relative, yes, they were a lot better than me but then there are other people here who are a lot better than them.

Renee, older resident

Louise comments on the impact of making music alongside those she perceives to be less capable than herself:

We were put in a group and the two basses [were] really nice chaps but they couldn't count ... their voices were good but they couldn't count somehow, missing a whole bar in the Agnus Dei which was really awful.

Louise, older resident

Louise isolates aspects of musical technique by separating the singers' vocal capabilities from their ability to count. The diverse DISS community gives a good illustration of how the development of musical craft and mastery of vocal or instrumental technique allows singers and instrumentalists to access music-making in different ways. Learning basic instrumental or singing techniques allows players and singers to progress to what might be considered a higher level of musical expression, through a more refined use of aspects such as articulation and phrasing, which themselves are perceived to contribute to and express music's communicative power. An extract from my observation of Jane's recorder class illustrates this connection between craft skill and musical expression:

'I said about doing less ornaments. Sometimes I feel like all these little notes are getting in the way of the playing. Can I hear the first couple of phrases without the ornaments so we can hear the tune and we can hear what's happening'? When she plays without the ornamentation it sounds a lot more confident and musical [...] 'As soon as you're playing without the ornaments, and I'm pretty sure it's not just me – isn't the sound much better?' (people agreeing) 'When you were playing with the ornaments it was really quiet and timid, and then you were – I think it's because you were thinking of all these little notes and also it means that the speed, the rhythm wasn't quite secure last time' [...] 'I can actually play all the notes' 'But what I want you to try and have is that real feeling – because when you played then it was just so much more expressive – can you just try the first phrase?'

Recorder workshop, 8.8.13

As discussed above, this class had begun with a demonstration of ornamentation by two advanced students, setting therefore an expectation that use of ornamentation signifies greater proficiency on an instrument. The player described though is not at

this point in her musical development, and needs instead to focus on more approachable material in order to be 'expressive', or as I described it 'musical', and confident in her delivery; the mixed level of the group highlights this progression to both the observer and the learner. An observation of a violin class also demonstrates how some players are fairly early in the process of developing their musical craft:

Her playing isn't particularly advanced - there's a fair amount of bow skidding and inaccuracy. Dominic shows her the fingering for the scale - 'You don't have to do it, but my it would make your life so much easier to do the same fingering every time'

Violin workshop 2: 15.8.13

As this extract shows, attending DISS gives players who are still developing their technique access to tutors who, like those described above, can help them to refine their musical craft skills. For these tutors, there is a need, as identified above, to rapidly 'classify' players and identify their level of musical capability, as evidenced by this exchange from a cello class:

[The tutor] says 'You study with Anna [Shuttleworth] - how old are you?' '17' 'And you're at school? And why are you playing this piece?' 'It was my Grade 8 piece a while ago and I just kept playing it - and I'm going to play it in a school concert'.³¹

Cello workshop, 7.8.12

Here the tutor uses the learner's own teacher - who she herself shared - her age, and choice of repertoire to categorise her musical ability - the learner's reference to Grade 8 'a while ago' gives further insight into her level of musical craft, one which was used by several interviewees, particularly those still in formal education, to describe their own level and that of others.³² Repertoire is also used as a way to gauge the player's

³¹ The tutor is referring to Anna Shuttleworth, a renowned UK cello teacher, who had taught her as well.

³² 'Grade' exams are a UK based music examination system; Grade 8 is the highest of the standard examinations.

level of skill, as in Matthew's description above of the selection process for a piano masterclass.

As has already begun to be discussed, there are many ways of being recognised as 'good' in the specific 'learning culture' (Perkins, 2013b) of DISS. Recognition may come through performance opportunities, often involving residents being selected from a course to perform in a particular piece, as described in the two following extracts, the second of which describes my own experience of being asked to perform a solo song in a chamber choir concert:

F. [amateur violinist] joins us - excited about playing in the concert with the Barbirolli quartet tomorrow - I asked if they were picked or volunteered - 'I thought we were in trouble'

FN, 8.8.12

On the bus up from Postern in the morning one of the quartet says 'Were you singing in the concert last night? Little solo? I absolutely loved it! (her facial expression is properly impressed) so touching!' This keeps happening all day – I feel like a bit of a celebrity, people keep stopping me, coming over and asking if it was me [...] People make lots of comments about the quality of my voice, talking about tone, lyricism, flexibility – I could easily get a bit of a big head! As I leave breakfast Matthew [accompanist] leans back and says 'Everybody's talking about your solo – in a positive way!'.

FN, 17.8.12

My description illustrates a significant factor in being 'good' at DISS – affirmation from other residents and recognition of how one has performed. The reference to a 'little solo' by one of the tutors though is both affirming and containing, as it is not a big but a 'little' solo; this contrasts with Matthew's perspective, who accompanied me in the performance and is more forthright in his praise. Stella's reflections on affirmation by others were discussed earlier, as a measure of the progress that she had made over the week; my experience illustrates a more 'sudden' recognition of ability. This kind of recognition may also occur in teaching situations; Dylan here discusses the more advanced students:

It does their confidence no end of good because they shine as an absolute star and certainly I have no qualms about telling them that they're wonderful and make an example of them if they're really outstanding.

Dylan, tutor

Recognition through performance also applies to regular performers at DISS; this may mean that they have a reputation as performers which is confined to DISS, as hinted at by Alan:

S. on piano sounds as if he is improvising. At times it is quite magical at other times quite off the wall. He is such a well-loved pianist here at Dartington but quite eccentric in how he interprets some scores – remember other performances in recent years.

Alan, older resident, DD

The DISS reputation is also connected to a tendency towards mythologization of famous figures who have attended DISS, with the cellist Jacqueline du Pré being an example of this.

I met Jacqueline du Pré who was then the thirteen year old wunderkind ... she was the star attraction of the summer school.

Rhona, tutor

[du Pré] was about 14, but her playing was superb even at the time – yes, yes, and Paul Tortelier said 'I have' – his English was quite good – 'I have four children, but I wish I had five because I wish you belonged to me' – amazing!

Kate, older resident

Rhona and Kate's descriptions give this individual a mythical status, which reflects on the reputation of DISS itself; at the same time they forge a connection between themselves as DISS residents and this important past attendee. For Kate, the possibility of 'spotting' talent at DISS is a significant part of her experience:

I've always been on the lookout for young talent and that happened last night – did you come to the concert last night? ... Well that young lady needs watching ... she's a second Nigel Kennedy!

Kate, older resident

Reflecting El-Ghadban's reflections on musical talent cited above, this comment also mirrors Matthew's earlier depiction of the piano class; youth is associated with talent and the possibility of identifying a new 'star' is exciting. The potential to see aspiring professionals, or established professionals at the start of their career, performing and teaching at DISS has always been part of its appeal; Margaret described attending a masterclass taught by Daniel Barenboim in the 1960s:

Daniel Barenboim was here ... the amount of knowledge he had and musicianship, and he was only 24, it was quite amazing.

Margaret, older resident

The DISS environment though is, as discussed above, broadly perceived as uncompetitive. Although there is an awareness of comparative musical ability and a sense that some residents are 'better' than others, this is in the context of a supportive environment, as I observed during a composition class:

There's a discussion about how at the summer school if people are 'good' people don't criticise them/appear to be envious about it – but talk to them and see what they can learn about it.

FN, 2.8.12

The ways in which people's musical standard is judged relate more to their willingness to 'have a go' than the actual standard of the output, as Erin reflects here in her observation of a singing class:

It was particularly nice to see some of the people who do our course and can't sight-read for toffee, but, when they stood up there, showed that they have amazing voices hidden away inside them. I have to admit that I enjoyed hearing

the advanced voices the most, but I was still inspired, as I always am at Dartington, by the way so many people were willing to get up and sing in front of the audience even though they must know they're not very good ... [they] love singing and the music so much that they don't care how badly they do it.

Erin, tutor, DD

There are some exceptions to this scenario though – this was particularly noticeable in comments about the advanced conducting course, where students are placed in direct contrast as they take it in turns to work with the DFO:

There is bitching in the orchestra about the conductors because they are, they're youthful conductors, they're training to do it, and it's a varying degree of quality, but they're all here to learn and they all do learn and they all change within the week.

Paul, orchestra member

[The orchestra] start to play – C. whispers to me 'This conductor's rubbish' [...] the orchestra are not really watching the conductor and the front desks of the strings are looking at each other not at him; [the leader] is moving a lot more, leading with her body. [...] They start again 'Violas, you're not maintaining the speed' – 'We're struggling to find the speed'.

FN, 15.8.12

The two women conductors [...] are the most impressive of the students

Alan, older resident, DD

This inevitably leads to comparisons being drawn between them, either overtly as observed by Paul, Alan and in my field notes, or through observations of their behaviour, with the middle extract describing how body language amongst the players can be a clear indicator of the ability of the conductor. As will be discussed in Chapter 9, the role of the conductor embodies much of the hierarchical positioning which can be characteristic of classical music performance, so it is perhaps not surprising that is

the conducting course which attracts this level of comparative evaluation of musical ability.

It can be seen therefore that musical 'standards' are experienced, enacted and described in various ways at DISS. These considerations must also encompass the question of why 'musical standards' matter; beyond their relationship to the individual musical identity, there are broader questions concerning musical process and the 'standard' of the associated product, which will now be discussed.

Process and product: 'getting it right'

Turino's (2008) distinction between presentational and participatory music is a useful starting point to consider different attitudes towards musical process and product in terms of the relationship with the musical object. It would be too simplistic to apply his distinction to 'professional' and 'amateur' musicians in this context, as it might be used elsewhere; but it is helpful to consider when the act of participating in music-making at DISS takes place without a sense of the 'presentational', and when the need to 'get it right' appears.

Rebecca's description of playing chamber music illustrates both perspectives:

We're choosing a lot of the things I can sort of make a good stab at sight reading and I guess when you're just doing things for fun like that when you're not going to ever perform for anyone, then just playing for your own pleasure and getting 95% of the notes right and everything is what you aim to do when you play, not to sort of try and give an inspiring performance.

Rebecca, older resident

She identifies two goals in the group's playing; pleasure, and getting '95% of the notes right', discounting the need to 'give an inspiring performance'; the presentational is clearly contrasted with the participatory, since 'just doing things for fun' is viewed as almost contradictory to 'performing for anyone'. Luke, on the other hand, considers that performance is inherent to music-making, referring to 'a fundamental thing about music - that it should be leading towards a performance' (Luke, tutor).

As Camlin (2014, 2015) identifies, our exposure to music as 21st century citizens is constantly mediated by the presentational, through its omnipresence across all forms of media:

Our expectations of participatory music are mediated, at least in part, by our cultural immersion in the presentational. Outside of the purely participatory musical cultures [...] it is hard to think of situations where participatory musical traditions are not mediated by their relation to presentational standards.

Camlin, 2014; 107

Ansdell (2014), echoing Adorno (DeNora & Adorno, 2003) in his discussion of the increased commercialisation and 'professionalisation' of music, draws attention to the common perception that 'real music' is something that can only be produced by someone special – so Camlin's conception of the presentational becomes still more unreachable.

People have increasingly seen music as a product, and a musician as a special, talented person. In short, 'real music' is something you buy rather than do, and 'pieces' of music are sacrosanct, to be heard but seldom touched.

Ansdell, 2014; xii

Ansdell's words reflect McClary's (1987; 17) contention that 'neither priest nor consumer' wants to 'break the spell'.

Camlin (2014; 100) states further that 'to ask the question, 'is it any good?' contains within it the assumption that we already know what it is good *for*'. For the majority of classical musicians, whether amateur or professional in pathway, playing composed music from a notated score is, as discussed above, difficult to separate from a sense that the music must be 'right', and ultimately will be presented to somebody; to some extent, there is always an invisible, hypothetical or desired audience looking through a 'fourth wall'. According to Merriam (1964), all production and reproduction of music necessitates an audience, either real or hypothetical, and therefore the concept of performance is inextricably linked to musical activity. Perhaps it is only the other people present in the room who listen, or perhaps it is the players themselves, but in an art form which has become so connected to ideas of perfection and achieving the composer's intentions, the aspiration towards presentation is ever present,

whether tacitly assumed, accepted, or as in Rebecca's case, rejected. As in Small's (1998) conception of musical performance as a triangular collaboration between performer, composer and the audience, the idea of an audience may be perceived as necessary to musical acts – for if the piece is not being perfected to present to a listener, what is the motivation to work on it?

The concept of needing to 'get the music right' is linked to the question of judging the quality of that outcome; Camlin (2014) uses Turino's conception to investigate the question of 'quality' in participatory music, stating that:

The question of 'quality' is simply more complicated than having a single aesthetic quality measure – in music, 'the beauty or "meaning" of its sonorous forms' (Elliott & Silverman, 2013) – to be applied across all instances of musicking as the primary measure of quality.

Camlin, 2014; 100

He argues for a dialogic perspective that allows us to

recognize the creative 'pull' of either field [presentational or participatory] on the other, and start to see how this might help to assess the quality of music which doesn't fall squarely into either classification.

Camlin, 2014; 106

Camlin claims that the question of 'quality' does not refer only to the outcome of music-making, but also to the 'process of its creation, or the means of its access and inclusion' (ibid; 100). The latter part of this statement is particularly relevant to DISS, where it could be argued that a primary purpose of attending – particularly for those whose everyday music-making falls into the 'amateur' category - is to gain access to music and musicians, through a praxial, processual approach that might otherwise not be available.

The following observation from my field notes reflects one aspect of 'access' – perhaps not what Camlin was referring to, but relevant nevertheless:

Another group come and sit next to me – they’re talking about chamber music – one man says ‘I’ve played with 23 people off the list and I’ve played 11 works’. ‘Every night before I go to bed I write a page of diary recollection about what I’ve done, who I’ve played with, what works I’ve played’ reply – ‘I make a list every week of all the works I’ve played for the past 15 years’. ‘I’ve been playing the Schubert A minor, in our way, that the quartet did the other night’.

FN, 16.8.12

There is an extent to which merely having played the works in question seems to be enough, with a slightly ‘cataloguing’ approach towards musical participation which does not encompass the quality of the result – or even the experience of playing it, although the comment that the Schubert quartet has been played ‘in our way’ implies a perceived difference in musical outcome to the professional players who performed the same work on stage. Another approach to making music is reflected in Robert’s diary, where he describes two impromptu music-making sessions:

Then into the White Hart to sing through Bryd; Mass for four Voices, actually with eight voices. We got through the entire mass without having to stop! [...] After tea our vocal ensemble has decided to meet again to do more work, and we concentrate on chord-by-chord tuning of ‘Iustorum Animae’ – absolute bliss to work to such a high standard and the sound of perfectly tuned intervals is wonderful.

Robert, older resident, DD

Robert’s measures of success are ‘not having to stop’ and ‘perfectly tuned intervals’; so for him, a combination of getting through the music and working hard to achieve perfect tuning gives musical satisfaction. This perspective can be contrasted with Samantha’s: ‘today did seem to be more about getting through things rather than working on them, but maybe that comes later, or maybe I could be more assertive when we discuss in rehearsals’ (Samantha, younger resident, DD). Notably, although playing cello at DISS, Samantha’s everyday musical life is as a professional singer; her desire to ‘work on’ the music may reflect a goal related to more than just playing all the notes, perhaps linked to this professional daily role. Alan, a music teacher, also

wants more from music-making than just getting through the score, as illustrated by his description of a choir rehearsal:

Well and clearly directed, but can't get away from an essentially superficial approach which is about learning the notes in time for a performance.

Alan, older resident, DD

Here, as Alan identifies, the 'presentational' is acting as a barrier to the 'participatory', which leads to an experience which, for him, is less satisfying.

Associated with getting the music right is the risk of making mistakes; as noted above, a perceived important characteristic of DISS is that it is a safe, non-judgemental environment, but 'getting it wrong' was still perceived by some to be a problem. This was evident in several classes I observed, predominantly through body language. I noted players looking over at the tutor when they made a mistake, shaking their heads, and on one occasion actually walking away from the music stand. Stopping and apologising for mistakes was also a common behaviour. Tutors supported learners through this process, by asking them not to apologise, making supportive and encouraging comments, or diagnosing the problem: 'She makes a mistake – 'Can I tell you why that happened? It's because your hand wasn't completely relaxed'' (Violin workshop 2, 15.8.13).

Two classes illustrated a connection between score reading and 'getting it right'. Alistair commented on how this fear of 'getting it wrong' manifested in the folk music classes, where learners were asked to learn in an unfamiliar way:

They think playing by ear means playing something perfectly the first time, whereas we're trying to teach them very gradually a tune, and making mistakes doesn't matter at all, I think they're just scared of making fools of themselves.

Alistair, tutor

In another case, I noted a more positive attitude towards mistakes – 'people are laughing and smiling when they make mistakes' (Sight-reading Class, 30.7.13). Notably, this observation was made during a sight-reading class, which might be considered the acme of needing to 'get it right' – but perhaps by engaging with the process of reading

music and deconstructing the mythology, learners realised that making mistakes is not problematic.

Samantha and Robert both refer to the question of ‘getting it right’ in the context of group music-making, an important part of the DISS experience which will now be considered.

‘Tuning in’ to group music making

Group music-making in instrumental and vocal chamber music ensembles, choirs, orchestras, and bands is a daily occurrence at DISS. Groups may be formally organised as part of a course involving coaching or teaching, or informally assembled by residents. Group music-making is a well-researched field, with researchers examining all aspects of ensemble playing and singing from the string quartet to the choral society.³³ The predominant themes arising from this work – collaboration, leadership, group communication, a sense of collective identity – are found in abundance at DISS, where my findings substantiate those of existing studies. DISS provides a contrast to many of these studies though in terms of the duration of the activities, bounded by a week of residence, and the possibility that musicians who would not usually play together operate in group music-making situations.

Ensembles at DISS can be considered regarding their composition – number of members, level of musical facility, whether they are already known to one another – and the roles played by these members – physical position in the group, whether they adapt the role of the leader or the follower, whether there is a designated conductor. Alongside these considerations come the skills that are necessary to the successful functioning of an ensemble, which are both musical - holding a part, keeping together, watching the leader – and social – collaboration, communication, and the group dynamics that facilitate or hinder the ensemble’s progress.

In groups that are assembled by tutors, the main goal is to create ensembles which will work well together at the level of the musical facility of their members. This would be challenging in any situation but at DISS is thrown into particular relief

³³ There are numerous research studies in this area, but some examples include Durrant (2005), Durrant & Himonides (1998) Einarsdottir & Gudmundsdottir (2016), and Einarsdottir (2014) on choral singing, Davidson and Good (2002), and Ford and Davidson (2003) on chamber music

because of the lack of clarity surrounding musical standards discussed above, and the fact that each week brings a new community of residents. Tutors also need to take into account all the contributing factors to successful group music-making mentioned above, and the limited time that members may have to prepare their musical part.

I was teaching duets which was a disaster in terms of how to organise [it], because of course people have to get on musically, technically, mentally – and they need to have looked at their part, and they need to have a sense of pulse – so I mean, you can't know these things before you meet, so in fact it was only by the last session that there was any form, and the duets degenerated into 'oh just play the music you want to play together'.

Dominic, tutor

Furthermore, each DISS resident brings their own expectations, as previously discussed, which can occasionally challenge tutors' arrangements for groups:

The problem is that everyone wants to be singing with people better than then, so they can be challenged and improve, but clearly that's just not possible.

Erin, tutor, DD

[The course leader] organised us into groups but I assigned myself to a different group I liked the look of.

Robert, older resident, DD

Robert's approach to his music-making demonstrates a confidence in his DISS musical identity engendered by long-term attendance.

For many people, playing or singing in a small ensemble is a new experience; they are frequently more accustomed to larger groups where the need to be able to hold a musical line independently is less great. Equally, they may find that they encounter the reverse situation, where they become part of a bigger group than usual. In either case, for most people, the group they find themselves in is a new one, which, as Jennifer describes, provides its own challenges:

It takes a while to settle ... we just had a succession of smaller bands this afternoon and it can take a while to tune to everybody, but you can usually manage to get something reasonable, and it's quite nice to have that challenge of blending your instrument with somebody else's instrument that you haven't played with – I mean you do get used to, if you play in a band all the time, the same band, you do get used to their tuning and articulation ... and playing the same piece of music with a different band of people can be quite different, which can be quite disorientating if you know the piece quite well.

Jennifer, younger resident

Jennifer's words also identify many of the musical skills that are needed for successful group music-making: listening and blending, negotiating the musical score and making musical decisions, and the peculiarities of individual instruments. Elena describes a similar situation from the perspective of a singer:

I'm now starting to get to know the other singers, but it's also about getting used to the sound that you produce as a section, the sound that you make and how you contribute to that sound, and whether you need to sort of, well not change your technique, but sort of adapt your voice to the rest of the group so that you don't stand out.

Elena, younger resident

Music is a 'social-behavioural phenomenon' (Davidson, 2004; 57); the 'extra-musical dynamics' (Davidson & Good, 2002; 192) which surround musical performance and behaviour inform the nature of production and reproduction. The group dynamics and social networks arising from regular meetings of amateur and professional musical groups are integral to the short and long-term outputs of the group. Davidson and Good (2002; 187) state that the skill of 'tuning-in' is 'dependent on the use of shared knowledge and commonly adhered-to rules', with the 'ability to "tune-in" to these socio-cultural features' being an important starting point for effective musical ensemble behaviour. Individuals coming together to form musical groups for the first time at DISS are not only outside these types of established dynamics, but also bring

with them the norms and expectations, and the 'tuning-in', associated with their existing musical groups.

When newly formed groups work well, it is satisfying to both members and tutors:

Another group was also missing a cellist in the afternoon, but with some manipulation of personnel we formed a violin/cello duo [...] This very ad hoc group had a great week, and became friends, which was gratifying and a relief. It was lucky that they clicked so well.

Celia, tutor, DD

Equally, when the groups do not function well, this can present a considerable challenge:

A violinist in the string orchestra volunteered to play with the group on Monday, but was given a very frosty reception (according to him) and so he didn't go back. A lovely violist who was participating in the masterclasses went to the group on 8 August, but was dismayed by their attitude again. Two of the musicians were very unwelcoming, and when she tried to help with some technical problems, they said that they didn't want to be 'coached'. It hadn't been her intention to 'coach' just to help – diplomatically. Luckily she is robust, and says that she'll go again tomorrow.

Celia, tutor, DD

This scenario provides an example of the findings of a study by Pitts et al. (2015), whose investigation into sustained musical participation by amateurs found that

positive social effects can flourish only when a sense of musical security is established' with the authors concluding that 'the like-mindedness and friendliness of an ensemble might be experienced as a social factor, but is manifest through the shared endeavour of playing, to which each member must contribute effectively if they are to feel truly part of the group

Pitts et al., 2015; 26

This is a contentious finding in the context of DISS, where the data would suggest that this sense of ‘musical security’ and the ability to ‘contribute effectively’ are not always present; in some cases, as in the above example, residents from an amateur pathway appeared to feel undermined by the presence of those they felt were ‘better’ than them.

There can also be problems with groups of residents who have previously arranged to play together:

It was a little bit cliquey if I’m totally honest ... people came and they already knew the groups they wanted to be in and they didn’t include you which I felt was a problem with the way it was set up.

Renee, older resident

Celia’s example above also highlights one of the particularities of ensembles at DISS, which often consist of musicians from very different pathways. In her example, this appears as a hindrance, with the players interpreting an attempt to assist them in their playing as unwanted teaching – with an implication that they found this input patronising; however, in other instances, it is considered to be extremely beneficial.

Wonderful, when you play with someone that’s a professional, it pulls you, pulls you up, like this morning in the viol consort, we had some of the [professional early music ensemble] playing with us and you can watch, besides them telling you, they’re showing you.

Naomi, older resident

Naomi’s words provide an example of the DISS mix of residents at its best, although this contrasts with Ethan’s opinion:

Being a bit callous, there’s only chamber music that you want to do with – at a certain standard, you don’t necessarily want to play, when I first came and people asked - and other people asked me to play and I ended up being in some slightly strange chamber groups.

Ethan, orchestra member

Samantha provides another example, drawing a contrast between playing with older players who had lost some technical facility but were expert at repertoire and collaboration, and a music student 'who wouldn't stop complaining':

In the afternoon I played some Haydn with a quartet – the second violinist was losing her sight so had chosen a quartet that she knew well enough to play by ear. The thing about this quartet was that even though the three other players were getting on a bit, so seemed to have lost some dexterity, they knew the music so well and listened so carefully that it was much more enjoyable than playing the Brahms the other day with a music student violinist who wasn't particularly interested in listening and wouldn't stop complaining.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

Here, for Samantha, the older age of the other players is a benefit, providing a contrast to the correlation between 'youth' and 'talent' identified elsewhere.

Perceived lack of ability or experience can lead to conflict between members of ensembles, and can cause or contribute to feelings of insecurity, frustration or struggle on the part of players:

I've had some people really being lovely to me and once or twice not so lovely, you know, but there are people who are terribly experienced in there and I'm not used to playing in groups at all so it's been a real challenge.

Delia, older resident

Group dynamics in general can have a significant impact on their members' experience:

First session was lovely, pretty much exactly my level. They were quite forthright in their opinions (just to express themselves, not inflexibly) which took some getting used to!

Second session we were joined by one of the resident quartet who was lovely and patient. Same level players but I couldn't play all of the notes in one of the movements, quite frustrating (for me) but they didn't mind.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

The need identified by Samantha to express and communicate ideas about how the music should go was referred to by others:

Sometimes you get one person who really tries to rather dominate the way things go, which isn't perhaps the nicest thing for everyone, or other people may find them a bit squashing, or ... knocks their confidence a bit or even upsets them a bit, which is not very nice and not really what coming here should be all about.

Vivian, older resident

Naomi compared this with the experience of making music with an established duet partner:

I play regularly with a duet partner ... we know each other well enough so that we can criticise if necessary and say 'you were rushing there', or 'that wasn't quite right'. You're a bit, when you don't know people, 'how will they be if I say this?' It's harder to give feedback and I think it's true for other people to give feedback to you – 'oh, will she be offended if I say this or that?'

Naomi, older resident

The sense expressed by Vivian that conflict within a group challenges 'what coming here should be all about' was echoed by Erin, describing a difficult situation during the vocal chamber music course:

The sopranos had a falling out which [one of the course leaders] had to deal with, and it sounds as if the group will have to be changed for the rest of the week. It's such a shame when it had been working so nicely, and it does seem ridiculous that these grown adults can't behave civilly enough to each other in

order to sing together. Dartington is supposed to be for enjoyment, not some kind of serious competition.

Erin, tutor, DD

Simon talked more specifically about issues relating to musical facility:

Sometimes it's musically happy and socially miserable, other times vice versa, sometimes you find yourself struggling to keep up with people far better than yourself [with] very good skills, other times it's the other way round and you find that you're nurturing somebody who hasn't done as much as you.

Simon, houseparent

As Simon identifies, when members of the group do not all have the same level of experience, there is a common pattern of behaviour whereby the more confident player or singer acts as the 'leader' whilst the other is the 'follower'. These terms are used by Einarsdottir (2014), who like Bonshor (2014a) has researched how, in amateur choirs, peer learning through physical positioning in the choir enables 'weaker' singers to tackle more challenging repertoire – which may also though lead to the stronger singers feeling less challenged, as in the situation described by Erin:

I had two extremely good musicians, and it must have been frustrating for them to have to wait while the others learned their notes and rhythms, and then to drag them along in performance, doing their best to keep the pulse going.

Erin, tutor, DD

DISS is slightly different to the fields in which this research was conducted, given its blend of residents, but similar behaviours can be seen; a difference though is that the 'followers' may automatically assume that their role should be to rely on the more confident, 'better' musicians:

This is for music students and other people who are good so it's not been quite as bad as I thought, well it's been easier than I thought in a way, I've been doing my usual thing of sitting myself next to someone who can sight-read and following them.

Belinda, older resident

It benefits from having a lot of people who are either music students or graduates and can sing almost to professional standard, and people who sing regularly in choirs which I don't, so I'm really sort of riding on the back of making sure I sit next to someone who's really good so then I can help pitch the notes.

Rebecca, older resident

After that we played Shostakovitch 8 as a string orchestra (instead of a quartet) [...] It was surprisingly OK, probably because the resident quartet was leading. They should really get a resident vocal quartet or octet for chamber choir, it keeps things together and probably makes it less stressful, especially because as an amateur you are doing it to enjoy yourself.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

This tendency to assume that 'better' players are there to be followed may serve to highlight the comparative judgements of musical ability discussed above. It may also act to undermine a secure musical identity, since residents who in other situations may be the 'leaders' are cast in the role of 'followers' by those around them, perhaps based on assumptions made on the basis of age or perceived musical status. It can also place the 'leaders' under considerable pressure to act as such, as was seen in the case of the professional flautist discussed above. The very notion that there are 'better' players who are there to be followed also raises fundamental questions regarding the inclusivity of DISS, an issue which will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Bailey and Davidson's (2005) comparison of performances by an amateur group with a middle-class membership and a group for homeless men found that although the emotional benefits were the same for both groups, the amateur singers experienced the interpersonal and cognitive effects less positively due to their existing

expectations and understandings of 'success' in a musical context. This research would suggest therefore that those with little or no previous experience of singing together, or less cognitive awareness of the standards that they might expect to reach, are able to feel the emotional, interpersonal and cognitive benefits in a purely positive way. In contrast, those who have a greater understanding of what they might aspire to, and therefore a greater understanding of their own limitations, are likely to be more self-critical in performance:

Middle-class singers are vulnerable to [a] socially prevalent elitist view, and even though they come from more privileged socioeconomic, educational and musical environments than their homeless and marginalized counterparts, they are less confident about the sound quality of their vocal instrument. Perhaps the social isolation of the marginalized singers frees them from elitist expectations, as they appear to have an innocent confidence that an appreciative audience (as evidenced by attendance and applause) is an indication of a deserving performance.

Bailey & Davidson, 2005; 294

These findings are significant in comparison to DISS, both because the majority of residents have significant past or current musical experience, and because for those from an amateur pathway, the presence of their professional counterparts may highlight their own perceived inadequacies, and therefore have a detrimental effect on their self-concept.

Erin reported on the 'leader' position when describing a rehearsal with other professional and aspiring professionals. In this case, the lack of a single director proved challenging:

We had a Bach rehearsal with the instrumentalists for tomorrow night's concert, which I found a bit difficult. [...] We've had this sort of situation when working with instrumentalists before, where no-one knows quite how to treat each other. With no-one in charge, and different groups of people who aren't used to working together, it feels as if there's a slightly awkward, tentative atmosphere. No-one wants to take charge and appear bossy, but it's easy for

nothing much to happen if no-one does. There's no direction, no coherent train of thought. It feels like a lack of energy, or perhaps it's the presence of apprehensive energy.

Erin, tutor, DD

Erin's words highlight both the tension between process and product discussed earlier, and the challenges of collaborative music making with a new group; she herself focuses on the need for someone to 'take charge and appear bossy', in other words to exert power over the group in order to find a musical direction. This issue is exacerbated by a lack of acknowledged hierarchy amongst the musicians; it might be assumed in this situation that those present perceive their own hierarchical relationships, but without a clear 'leader', Erin considers that the musical product is compromised. Her experience is also no doubt affected by the more usual presence of a conductor in classical music-making situations, highlighting therefore the embedded nature of musical relationships based on status and hierarchy.

For many residents, attending DISS gives them the opportunity to make music with a group of people who more closely match their perceived standard:

It was really nice to be part of the chamber music with performers that were of the same standard to me, because in my church and stuff I was always better than everyone else because I had the music degree, and I know that I'm not better than everybody else really - I'm just an enthusiastic amateur, but I didn't meet the people that I could perform with.

Rose, older resident

The insights offered by Celia and Erin into the challenges of organising groups at DISS are further heightened by the fact that for both of them, leading adult, 'amateur', music is not part of their usual professional lives; although full-time musicians, they are more accustomed to either performing or working with younger musical learners. This highlights the point made above about how, for many people, attending DISS represents an unfamiliar or unusual activity – and their level of reflection on the difficulties involved illustrates the potential value of this new activity in encouraging individuals to engage differently with the world of music-making.

Making music with a conductor

Many ensembles at DISS are led by those who are very experienced in this area, in particular the choir, which provides a useful site to consider the dynamics of group music-making where there is a designated leader. Many classical music-making situations are characterised by leadership from conductors. This contrasts to other musical traditions, such as mbira music, where Cameron described ‘the idea of community, how you make music without a conductor, the rhythm is in everybody’ (Cameron, tutor). In the classical tradition, as Cameron implies, the conduit of musical power is usually the conductor, whose relationship with an ensemble can dictate the musical experience from the perspective of both players and audience, almost as if the music is ‘owned’ by this individual. The main choir, conducted each week by a different person, provides a good insight into how conductors at DISS work within the parameters of the conductor-ensemble power dynamic. Three different conductors are considered here, all working with the choir: conductor 1 is new to DISS, and both conductors 2 and 3 have attended over a period of several years, in a variety of roles. Conductor 1 presents himself as the ‘controller’:

[The conductor’s] manner is quite school teacherly and he taps the pencil on the stand to stop people [...] ‘80% of people sang that to the floor’ – but his head is buried in the copy all the time – and the gesture is very high and similar a lot of the time so there isn’t much for them to look at [...] ‘That’s much better – making it a much more positive experience up at the front for J.

[accompanist] and me’ – J commenting as well. ‘Remember to look at me! It’s not that I’m vain but if you’re looking at me you’re automatically looking at the audience [...] NB he’s conducting from the orchestral score. ‘Spotlight on the tenors and basses, so don’t fail us’. ‘I’m sorry my voice is not in its finest condition this morning’. ‘Some of you are still singing into your copy’ – said very quietly, slightly threatening.

Choir, 5.8.12

This observation reveals clear power dynamics; despite the conductor’s assertion that watching him is more about communication with the audience, his verbal and body

language bely a different opinion; it is not insignificant that I compared his manner to a school teacher, and his use of the word 'fail' creates a dynamic where 'success' is contingent upon following his instructions, gestures and demonstrations – which as both he and I noted, did not always offer the singers the support needed to enable a satisfying musical outcome. Conductor 2 provides a direct contrast:

The choir are responding enthusiastically and confidently to [the conductor's] guidance and there is a positive and productive atmosphere. 'It would help people along to do some Italian opera arm movements' – again people laughing. [He] is definitely using the warm-up as a way to break down tension and create a bond between the singers [...] When the choir starts singing the sound is really nice – bright and focused. There is a distinct contrast though to yesterday's rehearsal with the orchestra; much more focus on getting the notes right as opposed to working on articulation and phrasing. [...] He deals very well with questions/interruptions – he is firm and confident in keeping the rehearsal going but also able to laugh. 'I will be so, so happy if we get this one right'. The pace is quick and they are working in a concentrated way – he spends quite a lot of time getting phrases right; he isn't just working through singing each section once, but working in a fair amount of detail.

Choir, 30.7.13

Here, the atmosphere reflected a more collaborative approach – my observation that the warm-up created 'a bond between the singers' also applies to the bond between conductor and singers; gesture was used by both singers and conductor, rather than being merely the preserve of the conductor.

The levels of experience at DISS of conductors 1 and 2 is significant; conductor 1, despite being hugely experienced professionally, was new to DISS, while conductor 2 had been attending for many years, initially as a bursary student. In his interview, conductor 2 described his first time conducting the choir as being 'asked to drive the biggest car they had' (Jack, tutor) demonstrating his perception of the importance of this role. The choir is the group that involves the most residents with an amateur pathway, and as Esme noted in an informal exchange following her interview, many of its members are amongst those who pay the most to attend. During an observation of

a rehearsal with the Baroque orchestra in preparation for the end of week concert with the choir, Jack referred to the choir as follows:

Who is new to Dartington? (about six hands go up) OK. So you've yet to experience the joy that is the main choir (laughing). It's a very joyous institution and it involves a lot of people, this year I think there are only 93, but often there are over 100, so it can be quite an unwieldy ship to turn around in quite a short space of time but they're all working hard on their Baroque style and they'll be very pleased to see you on Friday morning, so there we are.

Baroque orchestra, 26.7.13

As a long-term DISS attendee, Jack is imbued with the DISS pedagogy described above; these two extracts demonstrate how this allows him to work effectively with the group, whilst still acknowledging their limitations – it is notable that in the above exchange, he was talking to a group composed of musicians on a professional pathway, and his words could be interpreted as somewhat condescending, referring to the choir as a 'joyous institution' who are 'working very hard' – his final 'so there we are' seems to unite him with the orchestra in a perception of themselves as the 'better' musicians. This attitude towards the singers did not come across though during the rehearsal, unlike in conductor 1's rehearsal described above. Although both conductors were clearly in charge of the process, Jack's approach was more enabling; he presented himself confidently but with a friendly, humorous manner, provided constructive input as to how to improve the vocal sound, and balanced getting the notes right with some more detailed work.

The contrast in styles between the work with the orchestra and the choir is exemplified further by the following extract:

Let's have a go at this. This is quite a grand two in a bar (orchestra playing) We can have lots of inner parts here. (demonstrating phrases by singing) Essentially this is a string piece so when you go high you can enjoy that, violins. Just think broad, broad, broad. He is conducting with really big florid gestures. The sound is lovely – competent, confident 'professional' playing [...] Singing and conducting at the same time. 'So this is a tenor, of which I am not one'. Talking

about practical details – ‘I think we’ll go straight on there, like an ‘attaca’ [The baroque orchestra tutor] asks him to sing the line so she can hear the words – she is also demonstrating phrasing and clarifying bowing. She frequently asks about the words. [Jack]: ‘Just stop me if you want to go over things again... just keep the gesture, the feeling of this movement right to the end’.

Baroque orchestra, 26.7.12

While working with this group, there are similarities with the choir rehearsal, particularly in terms of gestural approach – ‘big florid gestures’ - but the balance of power is different; the situation appears more collaborative, both with the players – ‘just stop me if you want to go over things again’ – and with the baroque orchestra tutor, treated here as a knowledgeable other. My own observations on the quality of the sound demonstrate the tension that can arise from the mixed levels of the musicians at DISS, and the challenge that they present to their tutors – an issue which is discussed in greater detail elsewhere.

Conductor 3, taking the first choir rehearsal of the week, reveals a similar implementation of DISS pedagogy:

[The conductor] starts the rehearsal – he sorts out the choir into voice parts (there’s a cheer for the number of tenors). He doesn’t introduce himself but talks briefly about the repertoire – ‘I was asked to put together a programme of French music to go with the French Baroque theme’, ‘I deliberately chose pieces that nobody would have heard of - but being Dartington you probably know more about them than me’, ‘For this piece we are using a new edition specially prepared for this week by Clifford’ (I presume he means Bartlett).³⁴ He starts doing a warmup [...] A. explains that they’re not going to do French Latin – ‘vanilla Latin’³⁵ - and starts with Cantate Domino – it opens with a tenor solo which he sings beautifully and mostly from memory [...] He explains about what the crosses in the score mean – trills – and talks about how he wants a ‘bright’ sound – ‘I know it’s 9.20am on the first morning of Dartington’

Choir, 22.7.12

³⁴ Clifford Bartlett is a renowned editor of early music.

³⁵ Choirs singing in the English choral tradition usually use an Italianate pronunciation of Latin text, which is different to the approach adopted by those in the French tradition.

The conductor creates a rapport with the group, where he establishes his authority without being controlling - not introducing himself is in itself significant, since he is assuming that he is well known to many of the people there. He uses self-deprecation to create a more equal power dynamic – ‘being Dartington you probably know more about them than me’ – and sets himself and the group on an equal level with a well-known interpreter of the music – ‘a new edition specially prepared by Clifford’. He has high but realistic expectations, assuming they will understand the difference between French and ‘vanilla’ Latin, but is pragmatic about the fact that ‘vanilla’ Latin is a safer option. He demonstrates his credibility as a singer as well as a conductor, in contrast to conductor 1 who apologised for the state of his voice.

An additional perspective on conductors 2 and 3 is offered by Robert, who recorded his impressions of being part of the choir:

Week One

- | | |
|--------|---|
| Sunday | Choir smaller than usual but good, with plenty of young tuneful voices. [Conductor 3] very engaging |
| Monday | Choir remains immensely enjoyable with [conductor 3] and these beautiful French baroque pieces |
| Friday | [The concert] went well; we are all glad for [conductor 3] who has been a charming as well as efficient and erudite conductor for the week. Some stunning soloists. |

Week Two

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Sunday | First meeting of the week’s new choir with [conductor 2]. Bach – lots of lovely weird semiquavers, great fun to read, really exciting music. A good competent sound and a very promising week ahead. |
| Friday | Good choir rehearsal a.m. with orchestra and soloists; [conductor 2] has worked a miracle during the week and it all sounds very solid; should be an exciting concert. [...] the whole concert was really exhilarating. There is nothing like a Bach |

pieces with trumpets and drums! The more I see of [conductor 2] the more I like him. He stayed by the door after the concert and thanked every chorus member and shook them by the hand.

Robert, older resident, DD

Robert's impressions mirror mine; he comments on conductor 3's erudition and efficiency, and his comment on 'those beautiful French baroque pieces' shows his appreciation for the unusual repertoire selected. His parting observation about conductor 2 demonstrates the respectful attitude this conductor showed during the rehearsal I observed – although it is worth remembering the different attitude that he portrayed when in front of a group of musicians in an 'advanced' course.

Summary and conclusions

In this chapter Bakhtin's and Schütz's conceptions of the processual quality of dialogue have been used to consider collaborative music-making and comparative exchanges at DISS. The 'learning culture' of DISS, with its attendant conceptions of talent and standards have been explored, revealing the challenges of defining musical ability and levels of musical craft skills. Dialogic relationships through music-making in this context may reinforce a comparative positioning of musical ability. Changing perceptions of musical standards at DISS over time contribute to the mythologization of important musical figures from the past and a perception of musical 'priests' and 'laity' (McClary, 1987). Tensions are revealed between participatory access to musical objects and the pressure of arriving at a presentational end product, particularly in terms of 'getting it right' and the expectations of the self and the institution. Dialogic exchange through making music in groups, particularly with regard to 'tuning-in' with the 'other', can serve either to enable a pleasing musical product or undermine the security of feeling accepted, revealing conflicting expectations of the end product. 'Leaders' and 'followers' have been explored, through examining conductors' relationships with the large choir, and by considering the leader and follower roles assumed by members of smaller groups.

Thinking devices

- Tensions are revealed between conceptualising dialogue as a means of investigating the 'space between', of gaining understanding of the musical 'other', or, conversely, undermining the 'magic' of musicians perceived as more talented. These tensions are highlighted in the specific context of DISS, but may be found in other music-making and music education settings.
- Dialogue between older and younger residents, as co-creative partners, demonstrates how the lifelong experience and collaborative skills of the older musicians complement the recent musical training of younger players. The residential setting of DISS allows these relationships to flourish; other inter-generational music-making opportunities could benefit from a similar dialogic approach in their conceptualisation and management.

Chapter 8: Playing the part of the performer and audience member

As outlined in Chapter 1, the performing conventions of classical music are founded on ‘varying traditions which are rapidly being challenged by a multiplicity of new forms of listening, creation and reception’ (Kenyon, 2012; 6). Classical music in the twenty-first century faces considerable challenges in audience engagement, particularly amongst younger people and those do not habitually attend classical concerts. Concerts at DISS provide a daily focal point for residents, who act as both performers and audience members. It is an environment in which the traditions Kenyon describes might be challenged or reinforced, and in which the diverse intentions and aspirations of its community are highlighted. The audience is in many ways typical of the classical concert-going public; nevertheless, the atypical environment does allow for investigation of broader questions of audience engagement and collaborative performance. This chapter will explore the DISS concert experience from the perspective of both performer and audience member, beginning with a consideration of performance as ritual at DISS and beyond, before examining performance from the perspective of amateur performer, professional performer, and audience member.

Performance as ritual

Small (1998) gives a stylised but accurate depiction of a ‘typical’ classical music performance:

In a concert hall, two thousand people settle in their seats, and an intense silence falls. A hundred musicians bring their instruments to the ready. The conductor raises his baton, and after a few moments the symphony begins. As the orchestra plays, each member of the audience sits alone, listening to the work of the great, dead, composer.

Small, 1998; 1

These words encapsulate the rituals surrounding classical performance: purpose-built venues, large audiences seated in silence, professional performers executing canonical

works, and an expectation of quality of performance, justifying the cost of attending. Physical and social relationships between those present and the music itself are dictated by the 'sacred' nature of performance adhering to these conventions. As Kingsbury (1998) identifies in his portrayal of solo recitals at a conservatoire, the isolated status of performer and audience is highlighted by physical separation and adherence to expected behaviours. The students he describes function in an environment typified by status relationships, contained by a broader 'high status' ascribed to classical music. As El-Ghadban observes, performance rituals help to concretise hierarchies:

Ritualization, as a process, helps Western contemporary art music overcome its own marginality within the larger Western music tradition (including popular music) by endowing certain practices with a specific status.

El-Ghadban, 2009; 154

Cottrell (2004) examines performance as both theatre and ritual. In contrast to Small, he suggests that rather than reinforcing existing social relations, performers and audiences enter a 'liminoid' state for the performance's duration, in which social positions existing outside this context are suspended, and within the distinct groups of 'performers' and 'audience', all members are equal. After the performance has ended, those present return to their 'normal' roles, but with accumulated cultural capital for the audience and economic capital for the performers. This audience cultural capital contributes to the sense of community amongst regular concert goers, where they feel safe and accepted (Small, 1998) and understand the rules and conventions. Research with first time attenders at classical music performances by Dobson (2010) and Dobson and Pitts (2011) reveals how they may feel excluded from this community by their unawareness of the rules surrounding behaviour, such as when to applaud.

Concerts at DISS also have a ritualistic quality, in some ways reflecting the characteristics described above but equally sometimes challenging them. Concerts given by tutors, visiting artists, and course members, or a mixture of all three, bring together residents and involve stewards, tugs and technical staff in their organisation. Most occur in the medieval Great Hall at the heart of the estate, with some happening in studios which formed part of the DCA complex. In addition, there are multiple

informal performances outside in the gardens or in other studio spaces, often at the end of courses; individual performances on a micro scale also occur daily in masterclasses and workshops. Each performance has an associated atmosphere; the three public concerts, at 5.15, 7.45 and 10pm differ slightly in their programming, with the 'late' concerts often having a more informal atmosphere whilst those at 7.45 have a more mainstream approach to repertoire, as they tend to be the most well-attended by external ticket buyers.

'Performance' is often viewed as a musical product, but it is possible to take a more processual view. Seeger (1992) states that the idea that music can exist separately from performers and audiences is illusory, placing the emphasis of his analysis on the socio-cultural factors which together with the socio-emotional aspect and moment-by-moment concerns of sound production and reproduction influence the production of a musical performance (Davidson & Good, 2002). Seeger considers therefore that the description of performance events and all their constituent elements – training, location, expectations, and forms of musical communication – forms the basis of the ethnography of music.

Relationships between the different aspects of a performance can be portrayed in many ways. Davidson and Good (2002) see performance as an interaction between the musical score and the temporal process of co-operation between performers and audience which brings about the production and reception of a performance. In their opinion, the musical work is mutually constituted by the score and the performers' (culturally-situated) abilities; every performance is thus different and situated in time. Kingsbury (1998) proposes a nexus linking social relations, musical meaning and musical structure, with each aspect being both producer and product of the other. Pitts (2005a) draws a distinction between the process and product of performing, considering the former in itself to be an achievement for the amateur musician whereas the professional is judged solely on the nature of the latter. Merriam (1964) differentiates between performer and audience in a similar fashion, identifying the sharp distinction drawn in Western society between the rarefied and gifted artist and the undistinguishable mass of the audience and noting that this differentiation does not occur in non-literate societies. Performing environments such as DISS where audience members are often performers in their own right and where people move fluidly in between roles also preclude such differentiations. Kingsbury (1988; 165)

draws attention to the roles beyond mere performer and audience member which are implied by a performance event, referring to a 'social configuration, consisting of composer, performer, and audience; teacher and pupil; and also, music critic, musicologist and music theorist.' An individual at DISS could conceivably fulfil all of these roles either during the course of the summer school or in their musical life beyond it. As Duchen (2011) puts it: 'As each listener is also a maker of music in his or her own right, at the performances everyone feels involved.'

Performance venues have a significant impact on the audience experience; Brown (2013) describes them as a meeting ground between producers and receivers of arts, occupied by both parties for a finite time during which they can create meaning through the exchange of ideas. Such meetings create a sense of community, which Pitts (2004) considers fundamental to music listening, rendering it 'a shared experience that reinforces identity and belonging' (158). The architecture of many venues delineates both social and musical factors of attendance by their fixed seating and restriction of social activity to spaces such as corridors and bars (Pitts, 2005b; Brown, 2013). Members of subscription schemes are sometimes enabled to book the same seat for every concert, ensuring that they see familiar faces and feel part of an audience 'family' (Pitts et al., 2013). Audience members who see 'friends' of an orchestra seated in privileged areas, may therefore feel excluded. Dobson (2008) found that the physical construction of the venue was significant; participants in her study of the Cadogan Hall in London referred to liking the space because of its 'intimacy' and the sense of a shared experience engendered by being together in a relatively small concert venue. This reflects Pitts' (2005b) study of a chamber music festival staged 'in the round'; audience members spoke about how the experience was more intimate and informal because they were seated all around the performers and in close proximity to them. They were also able to see one another, engendering a sense of belonging which according to Pitts may allow them to feel more connected with the music and the performers.

The Great Hall is not a 'concert hall' in Small's sense; once a medieval banqueting hall, it retains an atmosphere which is less formal than many sites for classical music performance, with limited stage lighting and much of the seating on long wooden benches – 'there's a certain informality here that there isn't in a concert hall or a church' (Maureen, older participant). Performers are positioned in front of a

large fireplace, and the absence of blinds means that natural light floods the space. Although large, the Great Hall is not on the same scale as many purpose-built venues, contributing further to a feeling of intimacy noted by both audience and performers:

It's much more intimate here because the hall is smaller than those concert halls, the visibility is quite good – whereas if you go to a big concert hall you can't see, you'd need a pair of binoculars to see their face.

Raymond, older resident

Here it's quite close to the audience, and you feel the response of them, nevertheless it's quite a big hall, sort of middle size of hall, so you, one can somehow play into a space, but you can feel the audience being there and being quite close.

Selina, tutor

In Pitts' (2005) study, audience members were able to access nearly all parts of the venue; this mirrors experiences of DISS residents who may use spaces which at other times are delineated as performance areas for rehearsal, learning and social purposes. This applies in particular to the Great Hall, which hosts the morning choir rehearsals. Dobson (2010) found in research with those unfamiliar with attending classical music concerts that participants scored highest on the 'enjoyment scale' following a performance when the venue was either new to them or extremely familiar. For many DISS residents, it is the latter that is more relevant; Alan notes a feeling of being 'at home' in the Great Hall: 'Go to first half of concert in balcony. Familiar feel front row of balcony.' (Alan, DD). His reference to only attending the first half of the concert is also notable; in everyday life, it is rare to only attend part of a concert, but the residential nature of DISS and the fact that the price of concerts is included means that people often only attend part of a concert:

Popped into the main hall to hear one piece of the late-night concert – our opera conductor playing a solo harpsichord piece – then early to bed.

Robert, older resident, DD

This behaviour illustrates a different relationship between audiences and the concert-going rituals described above; the performances at DISS seem not to completely conform to these rituals, leading to some subtle but thought-provoking changes in the dynamic between audience and performer. Robert's observation that he wants to hear 'our opera conductor playing' gives yet another exemplification of the multiple possible roles for residents at DISS; here, the tutor is a performer, but he is playing not conducting; and Robert is an audience, not a chorus, member.

Some performances at DISS are more overtly 'different', such as the African Drumming performance which took place on the lawn outside the Great Hall:

Tony [the tutor] is saying that this is an opportunity to share what we have been learning this week – definitely not a performance but an 'outdoorings'. All the people that were participating in the class I attended seem to be here, as well as some new ones. There are three children involved – the little girls have put on special outfits which look like saris. Some people seem a bit tentative but everyone is taking part. [...] Tony is playing as well as directing. Even though they say it isn't a performance, people are watching in silence/applauding/behaving like an audience. [...] Tony starts demonstrating clapping and lots of people start joining in [...] Tony makes comparisons with Western music in what he says. When the piece starts he's moving around, helping on different parts, singing them etc – people are smiling and laughing, obviously enjoying the experience [...] He is giving instructions all the way through.

FN, 2.8.13

This 'outdoorings' differs from the ritualistic performance described above, with the active participation of the 'director' in the music, the audience involvement, and the general informality of the occasion. It is important to consider though whether the challenging of conventions in this particular case represents an opportunity or an inherent hierarchy, where non-Western music is considered as less deserving of the ritualistic formality of the classical music performance. The decision to present drumming from West Africa outside rather than in the Great Hall, and as a free concert targeting the local community, may represent a view that this music is less 'valuable', or equally may be a means of sharing the outcome of a course in a way that is

congruent with the performance traditions of the music learned, reflecting the earlier discussion about the practices associated with non-Western musics. My photographs of the performances of the drumming, gamelan and samba courses demonstrate how the colourful instruments and clothes of many performers give an impression of exoticism against a very English backdrop, highlighting the difference from other musical scenarios at DISS.



Figure 6: Samba performance, 17.8.12



Figure 7: Gamelan performance, 24.17.12



Figure 8: Drumming performance, 2.8.12

It could equally be argued, though, that performances of this type – particularly the gamelan – are subject to even more ‘ritual’ than those of classical performances, since the cultural significance of music-making in these ensembles is inextricably linked with religion and ritual, as Cameron explained regarding the mbira, referring to it as ‘a sacred instrument ... which is played in ritual ceremonies where we connect with the ancestors’ (Cameron, tutor). Some would contend that classical music is subject to an equally ‘sacred’ presentation, if less overtly so than mbira; this is often particularly evident in professional performances such as those described by Small. The professional perspective on performance at DISS will form the focus of the next section of this chapter.

Performing at DISS: the professional perspective

For the professional musician, performance brings not only monetary rewards but also intense scrutiny. In Dobson’s (2011) study of freelance musicians, she identifies the potentially damaging relationship between the vulnerability and emotional content of musical performances and their criticism by audiences, peers and the musicians themselves. She also identifies the ‘opaque nature of musicians’ reputations’ (247); a traditional employment relationship includes ongoing processes of appraisal, leading to progress up a defined hierarchical ladder, but a ‘portfolio’ musical career lacks a single clear progression route, and the responsibility for appraisal falls on the individual or their peers. Career progression is set against highly subjective and contextual ‘larger musical and cultural ideologies’, such as notions of talent and musical individuality, as opposed to ‘concrete processes of recognition and identity formation’ (El-Ghadban, 2009; 141). Dobson (2011) refers to ‘the enduring presence of self-criticism and the potential for criticism from audiences’ (246), a perspective reinforced by data from Erin’s diary:

I know I’m capable of singing well at all times, [but] I worry that if I sing badly I’ll sound like a really poor singer who really shouldn’t be paid for her services. It’s that top difference, that little extra commitment, that turns a good performance into an outstanding one [...] I’m scared of falling short of that mark of excellence and proving myself to be totally inadequate.

Erin, tutor, DD

The environment at DISS is, as Gordon identifies, different in various ways to the ‘typical’ professional performance environment as described by Erin; this is predominantly due to DISS’ residential nature, where the ‘supportive’ audience is recognised as a key factor:

I find [the DISS audience] one of the most supportive audiences to play to ... Also because you’re able to rub up against the audience and get to know them at dinner afterwards, it’s a totally different environment to playing in [other festivals] where you just arrive by plane, tip up at rehearsal, bash out a programme in a prestigious festival where you know the press are going to be and the reviews, which is just part of the normal sort of professional pressure that goes with professional playing – here, this is definitely a different atmosphere – I’ve always felt very supported.

Gordon, tutor

This supportive quality is complex to analyse, but it seems to arise in part from the community of practice developed at DISS and the ongoing relationships between performers and audience members, developed over time. Another defining feature of the DISS audience, noted by regular performers, is that everyone there is someone who likes to make music as well as listen to it:

[It’s] one of the most buzzing audiences you can get – there’s such a positive vibe, they’re so much there for their enjoyment – and they are all people who like music, and who make music, so it’s a very special audience [...] I think normal concert audiences you get a mix – there are people who are musicians, amateurs and professionals, and you get a lot of people who go to concerts because they enjoy music but don’t necessarily make it – but here all people make it, at whatever level.

Natalie, tutor

The fluidity of the audience/performer/teacher/learner status of DISS residents also contributes to the particular quality of the audience, although as Jane and Megan identify this can also present challenges:

It's nerve racking performing here because you're teaching your students [...] to do things and obviously you want to be able to make sure that you're doing all the things that you're telling them to, and I mean obviously of course there are lots of other artists watching – so in some ways it's quite pressurised, but the audience is always lovely.

Jane, tutor

There's always a bit of nerves when you're playing to really discerning ears and very esteemed colleagues – that's kind of scary, we all feel that, but it's a really happy experience.

Megan, tutor

As Jane notes, the performers' credibility as both tutors and performing artists is under immediate and direct scrutiny, in addition to the fact that there are many other professional musicians in the audience – which is an unusual situation for most professionals, who usually play to an audience containing few fellow performers.

DISS is acknowledged by many to be a 'safe place', where they can take risks and try out new or unfamiliar repertoire in an environment which, as Gordon identified above, is less judgemental than many other performance contexts. He expands on this perspective here, corroborated by Jenny, a long-term attendee:

I'm convinced that this place always should be ... and always has been in my experience a very non, not a very judgemental place – you're free to, you're free - where people basically are on your side, and when you're playing in front of an audience that's on your side, I think it's generally the case here, you're just basically playing in a room of friends – that's how it feels ... there are festivals that do make you anxious ... if you play in front of a particular crowd of extremely learned, very hyper-critical, with good reason because they know a lot, you can, that can give very experienced musicians the heebie-jeebies playing in front of that kind of crowd, it's not the atmosphere you can get from here at all.

Gordon, tutor

They can risk making mistakes because it's not in the public eye – if they want to try something else they can and if it turns out it wasn't a very good idea it doesn't matter and if they don't want to pursue it after all it doesn't want to say they're not good at it if they decide not to do it.

Jenny, older resident

Alongside the opportunities to take risks and experiment, DISS also offers aspiring professional musicians the chance to gain performance experience and build their reputation; as Esme states, successful performances can open doors to further opportunities: 'they played in the courtyard, they sight-read that clef and they were brilliant, I can trust them, that's how they get gigs' (Esme, tutor). Lucy, a long-term DISS attendee and established performer, recalled her early days at DISS:

I remember the same stage – I remember singing my first little solo concerts here, coming out of something and doing a tiny bit – I think I sang the little solo line in 'Diary of One who Disappeared' in 1979 and it was a huge thing for me and then I was lucky, because I grew to love singing in the Great Hall and the audience who came back year on year knew who I was and watched me make progress from singing a tiny line ... to singing massive pieces like Messiaen 'Harawi'.

Lucy, tutor

Lucy describes here the long-term relationships built up between audience and performers; their witnessing of her development as an artist must contribute to a sense of ownership over concerts at DISS, which will be discussed below.

Performing at DISS: the amateur perspective

For the amateur musician, performance has a different role; it gives musical groups something to work towards and allows people to share their leisure activities with family and friends. It also offers escapism and the opportunity to gain attention and an increased status in the eyes of others (Pitts, 2004). It may not be a priority for some amateur players, for whom participation in musical activity is the main source of

enjoyment, both personally and musically (Pitts, 2005a). They may value rehearsal and individual practice just as highly as the actual performance (Palmer, 2008) and do not always consider performing for an audience to be an integral component of participating in the choir (Bailey & Davison, 2005). For some residents from an amateur pathway, performances at DISS share many qualities with those in everyday life; the choral performances in particular are not dissimilar to many concerts by choral societies or chamber groups that take place around the United Kingdom on a regular basis.

The significant and obvious difference between concerts given by amateur groups which meet regularly and those at DISS is the restricted time available to rehearse. Performance is often conceptualised as a product; however it is broken down into its various elements of composer, score, performer, audience, and venue, it always has a final quality to it – the end product of a series of rehearsals, designed to demonstrate or show off musical skill. Even when considered in more processual or relational terms, performance often represents a musical end point rather than an exchange in a dialogue. At DISS, the sustained relationships between audience members and performers before, during and after concerts do go some way towards counteracting this, but there is still a sense of building towards a concert as a climactic point of musical endeavour. Due to the particular musical community, and the short time-frame, this need to create an end product can lead to considerable pressure to achieve a particular musical outcome. Erin identifies the resulting tension between process and product here, using a performance by a vocal ensemble she had been coaching to reflect on her own professional performances:

Unfortunately, they didn't perform well in front of the other groups, but that's really not the important part, and it's also a good reminder of how much performance nerves affect people. The marked difference between the practice runs and performances of these groups makes me feel better about my own inability to give my absolute best in performance.

Erin, tutor, DD

This pressure may be experienced by those taking part in the performance, or by those leading it. For the latter, there are several pressures to contend with. Jack's comments

during a rehearsal with the Baroque Orchestra give insight into how artistic decisions may be affected by the forces involved and the short rehearsal time:

J.: It would be tempting to take it a bit faster, but not with a choir of 93

Natalie: As a rule, always copy what the singers are doing, go with the words

J: Copy what you imagine the singers ought to be doing (laughing)

Baroque orchestra, 29.7.13

This exchange, like my analysis of the opera and string orchestra performances above, reveals that the inclusive atmosphere to which DISS aspires is not always consistent – Jack’s laughter indicates even more than his words that he has a slightly derogatory attitude towards the choir’s capabilities. For him, there is a strong connection also between the group’s performance and his own professional identity as a conductor; during his interview, he commented on how although he feels he achieves success with the choir, and the Friday night concert always comes together, this is always stressful because people have lots of other things they’d rather be doing until the last minute when they think it would be fun to join in. He also commented on his frustration at never been given advanced students to work with, identifying a disconnect between the perfectionism he strives to achieve professionally and what is possible at DISS, and describing the choir as ‘elderly crèche management’. This last statement highlights the youth/talent correlation highlighted elsewhere.

The disparaging attitude towards both the older and the amateur singer which Jack expressed was not unique to him; a similar perception was noted in a director of the chamber choir, documented both in an exchange observed in my field notes and in my experience of participating in rehearsals:

[The director] is directing the rehearsal in an efficient but quite clinical fashion – there isn’t all that much praise or warmth towards the choir and I remember that he said the other day when I was at the rehearsal – ‘that’s usable’.

FN, 23.8.12

‘Alto [soloist], for the Ravel, that’s still a question mark isn’t it - any ideas?’ [The assistant director] replies that he hasn’t really got any more ideas than the

same person as was suggested before – ‘nobody else has stood out?’ - ‘Not really, there are some good readers... I could ask again if people want to do it’ - ‘but then we might get someone who’s not suitable - they’re all a bit old and gravelly aren’t they’.

FN, 21.8.12

The comment in the first extract that the music is ‘usable’ displays an attitude towards the performance process where the product is certainly more important than the process; the question that arises is usable for what and for whom. If the purpose of running the choir is to produce an outcome which is ‘usable’ to present to an audience, that would contradict the participatory basis of attending DISS. The second extract also reflects this product-based attitude; the assistant director is evidently trying to promote a more inclusive stance, offering to ‘ask again if people want to do it’, but the director’s response that the singers are ‘old and gravelly’ privileges quality of outcome over participation. It is worth noting that in this particular case, the chamber choir director was new to DISS, whilst the assistant director was a long-term attendee.

The need to produce a performance at the end of the course is also noted by those taking part – Rebecca described her experience in the gamelan course:

She’s got a deadline, we’re down to do a mini-concert at 4, and it’s not a proper performance and probably not many people will come, but for her it’s the achievement of a week’s teaching, and she wants something to show for it, she doesn’t want us just to say ‘oh well we’ve had fun and thanks a lot’ so I think she feels a bit under pressure.

Rebecca, older resident

This pressure to produce a tangible outcome can also reveal differences in the status of the various courses at DISS; Tony described the challenges of making sure everyone is there for the end-of-course performance:

I also know from experience that there’s potentially a little bit of friction between the different modes of learning that go on during the summer school,

so that on the final day, some other ensembles who've got performances will often put pressure on people to have another rehearsal at the same time.

Tony, tutor

What Tony describes as 'modes of learning' could refer as well to musical genres; there is an implication that because his course is situated outside the classical canon, the performance might be perceived as less significant by those taking it, who might choose to prioritise rehearsals for 'other ensembles' – and the leaders of those ensembles might share this view, considering that attendance at their rehearsal is more important than the drumming performance. This reflects the 'othering' of the performance itself described above.

Final performances also offer many opportunities for those on an amateur pathway, not least a sense of achievement at what can be achieved in a short time, as described by Toby, reflecting on a performance of 'Songs from the Shows':

Oh, I had such a ball last night ... it was so slick, how can you get 30 or 40 disparate people who've not met before or sung with each other before to do such a disciplined show in five two-hour sessions? It's absolutely brilliant, absolutely brilliant.

Toby, older resident

Stella describes a similar sense of achievement and pride at getting through a tricky piece of Bach: 'Fantastic! We managed to sing the Bach and keep in time – even the basses – even a challenge.' (Stella, DD). Earlier in the week she had reported that 'some parts of the [Bach]Mass were challenging – high and sustained', so her sense of achievement appears connected with the perceived difficulty of the repertoire.

DISS also offers amateurs opportunities to take part in performance in a different way to their everyday musical lives. This may be on a micro scale during classes, whose masterclass format involves a significant performance aspect. For aspiring professionals this mirrors their future working environment by providing

a realistic framework which mimics an authentic work situation for a musician ... [the] concert-like situation gives the students' practice and preparation a

better focus and direction than a regular one-to-one lesson. It also generates more intensity and energy in the performance itself. The student will therefore reveal more of his or her actual potential in this situation. Secondly, the "concert" training and the resulting feedback on how the "concert" situation is handled provide a learning opportunity that the one-to-one teaching cannot achieve. This includes learning how to deal with performance anxiety, how to communicate with the audience, and how to project in a big concert hall.

Hanken, 2010; 153

There is an extent here to which performance behaviour that is associated with the professional or aspiring professional musician is expected of the amateur at DISS. For many DISS residents, this type of performance is not only unfamiliar but also, it could be argued, not entirely relevant, since for many people on an amateur pathway, preparation for solo performance in concerts – and the subsequent need to ‘project in a big concert hall’ - is not their focus. For some participants, this does not matter since they take what they want to learn or is relevant to them from the situation, and in many cases, demonstrate progress in their performance ability. For others, though, performance in this way may be an added, unnecessary or even inappropriate pressure. Eilidh’s description of her first experience of singing solo in a masterclass embodies this difference in approach:

[DISS is] very encouraging of people if you want to just kind of, I’m not sure if it’s for a laugh exactly, just experience singing a solo with them – I did one today, just one verse of an Italian thing I thought I could manage the tune of ... I got a couple of bum notes there and it was ‘oh, good for you’, and it wasn’t important.

Eilidh, older resident

Eilidh does not appear to be nervous about her performance; she just wants to have the experience of doing it, and as she says ‘it wasn’t important’. For Stella though, performing in a vocal class causes anxiety; she reports in her diary after one performance that she ‘almost enjoyed singing and nearly overcame my nerves. Well, for a moment.’ (Stella, older participant, DD). In some cases, nervousness about

performing in a masterclass scenario can prevent participation; Margaret described how she had not played in a masterclass with Daniel Barenboim when attending as a young music student because 'I just didn't feel brave enough – I've only played at one masterclass' (Margaret, older resident).

Mixing of amateur and professional aspirations is also seen during collaborative performances between groups composed of those on an amateur and a professional pathway, as will now be discussed.

Amateur-professional collaborations

The diverse community of DISS offers unique opportunities for amateur and professional musicians to perform together. An example of this took place in 2012, with Charpentier's opera Actéon being rehearsed over two weeks by soloists from the advanced, selective opera course, the Baroque Orchestra (again pre-selected and comprising current and aspiring professional players) and a chorus which was open to anyone who wished to participate (with the requirement to book onto this course before arrival). This experience was documented by Robert in his diary, from which some excerpts follow:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| SUNDAY | 3.30 Opera rehearsal (Charpentier, Actéon) on the set: director expected us to know the notes already. We went through the first scene trying out various moves and positions, and the constant repetition of the music was very helpful. It looks as if we will be rehearsing every day from 3.30 to 6, which I was not expecting and is a bit of a blow. When will I have time to learn anything! |
| MONDAY | The commitment to the opera mushrooms all the time and looks to swallow up many of the course/talk/concert sessions I specially came for. Had long discussion with director/repetiteur/office and think I will have to bow out. I don't understand why I wasn't clear about this before signing up but it is not going to work. |

TUESDAY Opera chorus rehearsal, working hard and in great detail.
[Robert does not explain his change of heart about taking part]

WEDNESDAY Very full day with choir, opera rehearsal, vocal ensembles, more opera rehearsal, opera talk, two evening concerts.

THURSDAY Opera shaping up nicely and we are almost off the book now.

FRIDAY First run through of the opera (without the orchestra yet); saw the scenes I am not in for the first time. Getting quite enthusiastic about it!

SUNDAY Opera rehearsal before lunch: things have gone back a bit after the day off, and people are supposed to be off-book now, but aren't. C. realistically is allowing this, but it does affect the precision of the rhythm. In other respects, he is a stickler for 100% concentration and accuracy, which is wonderful.
[After lunch] a run-through of the opera: now with lighting and some costumes, but no orchestra yet. Chorus not confident enough and rather ragged. I will have to concentrate and make sure I come in right whatever anybody else is doing. Conductor remains charming as well as demanding, and I think it will be a good show.

MONDAY After coffee – opera rehearsal, chorus in stage positions, far apart from each other. R. and C. very demanding of absolute accuracy, strong entries, etc etc.
[...] another opera rehearsal until supper time and time mainly spent coordinating everything. Wonderful sound of Charpentier's orchestration gives a huge lift.

TUESDAY Opera run through, very good again with the orchestra; R. is meticulously organising the balance of sound and everything is very stylish.

WEDNESDAY Back to the opera for notes on the dress rehearsal, not too much to fix. [...] Then supper; then the main concert; then quick change and down for the first performance of the opera, which went very well.

THURSDAY Managed to hear the whole of the evening concert before dashing down to Studio 1 for the second performance of Actéon; very well received again though I thought it didn't go quite as well as yesterday.

Robert, older resident, DD

Robert's account of his experience over two weeks is revealing in many ways. It provides an excellent exemplification of the condensed time-frame of DISS, with the chorus' progress from learning the notes at the beginning to the final two performances documented through Robert's perception. More importantly, it shows how Robert, who would normally perform in an amateur context, takes on the persona and attitude of a professional performer. This is most evident through his use of language; by using phrases like 'on the set' (a studio with minimal 'set' provision), 'off-book' and 'notes on the dress rehearsal', Robert is absorbing the discourse used by a professional singer. His attitude towards the expected and achieved standard also demonstrates that he feels he is taking the performance as seriously as he would if he were a professional chorus member, as is his sense of achievement. Through his observation that the director expects high quality performance, and consideration that this is achieved, he implicitly communicates that he too has reached high standards, where he perceives that others have not (note his earlier reference to the chorus being 'ragged'). This feeling is justified by his hard work and commitment throughout the fortnight; DISS clearly represents 'serious leisure' (Stebbins, 2007) for Robert. Early doubts about the time taken by the rehearsals are replaced by an obvious pleasure in how busy he is – many of his diary entries commence with phrases like 'another busy day' or 'even busier'; for Robert, the DISS experience is about far more than relaxing on holiday.

Robert's perceptions of participating in Actéon can be compared with my own observations of the performance:

The performance is great – really exciting – especially having heard so much about it from people participating. It's definitely a different feeling watching my 'classmates' perform, having been to the singing class all week – I feel kind of proud of them and impressed to see them up there performing alongside the

‘professionals’. The chorus are on stage at the beginning and it’s nice to see a mixture of ages and types of musician. [...] Some of the chorus are using their music at the side – I feel a bit sorry for them because they look like they’re not up to being in stage with everyone else. The atmosphere in studio 1 is in definite contrast to the Great Hall venue of the other concerts, especially because of the lighting and set etc. The orchestra is squeezed into a very small space and I’m squeezed right in next to them which means I get a bit of an odd perspective on the sound but it’s really nice to be able to see how much they are enjoying themselves and feeling the music. [...] [One of the stewards] is singing tenor – he goes really wrong and the director has to sing his part to get him back into time.

FN, 2.8.12

A memo that I noted alongside these fieldnotes gives an insight into how the combination of different performers can lead to mixed outcomes: ‘are the amateurs being made to look ‘worse’ than the professionals? Also interesting visually how amateurs can easily be identified by body language etc.’ (Memo, 2.8.12). Although my overall impression was positive, in terms of performance quality and the engagement and commitment of the singers and orchestra, it is notable that some ‘amateur’ singers seemed to stand out as being noticeably different to their ‘professional’ counterparts. This perspective is reinforced by Erin’s comment on the same performance:

I went to the Charpentier opera in the evening, which was a very mixed experience. Some of the singing was wonderful – I especially liked the trio of nymphs – but some of the choruses were very ropey. Similarly, the production was great in parts, but some bits were just bizarre. It was one of those really arty shows, where I’m sure there’s some profound reason behind everything, but for an uninitiated audience it’s way too abstract.

Erin, tutor, DD

Her comment on the ‘ropey’ choruses reflects my opinion of the quality of the singing. Her reflection about the production itself contrasts with Robert’s perception, who at no point in his commentary on participating in the opera mentions staging or

production. This may be because he was not aware of what was happening in sections where he was not involved – he mentions seeing the scenes that he was not in at a fairly late stage – or because an overall vision of the production was not shared with the ‘amateur’ singers. This reinforces a rather hierarchical separation between performers and seems to include the chorus members in Erin’s categorisation of the ‘uninitiated audience’.

Taken in isolation, these observations might give the impression that this is essentially a negative scenario, with a hidden bias against those less experienced performers; but taken alongside Robert’s obvious pleasure in playing the part of the ‘professional’ singer, the impression is somewhat different. A similarly mixed view arises from another performance, this time by the string orchestra. Despite the democratic atmosphere which typified their rehearsal, the performance served to reinforce existing hierarchies and differences in ability. Ella described the composition of the orchestra:

I took a photograph yesterday in a [string] orchestra rehearsal – there was a kid, I mean he must be like eight, and there was this really elderly woman on the same desk, playing together – and I put it up on Facebook and I thought this is Dartington ... there’s no, to a certain extent there are no levels or professionals or amateurs, everybody’s together performing and getting on with it and I think that’s the essence of music at the end of the day – breaks down all barriers.

Ella, younger resident

My own observation of the group is in a similar vein, but also reveals some underlying tensions:

The string orchestra concert at 7.45 is great – very much what you might call “in the spirit of Dartington” – there are all ages and levels playing together, three different conductors who are all very renowned in their own field, there are stewards and houseparents mixed in the orchestra ... [The conductor] is also clearly totally in command of what’s going on, which makes a huge difference in such a complicated piece. It’s interesting that the [Artistic Director

of DISS at the time of the study] piece was cancelled – apparently there was a muddle with ordering the music and not enough time to rehearse it ... At the end of the concert [the conductor] says “We have no encore. Usually for this piece we would have a week’s rehearsal – with this group of artists (someone mutters ‘artists’) we’ve only had two one hour sessions – thanks to their constant [inaudible] we’ve managed to achieve it. I hope I haven’t abused you too much (laughing from orchestra) and happy returns to Dartington!”

FN, 9.8.12

So although in many ways this performance embodies the inclusive community of DISS, it also demonstrates the tensions between inclusivity and perceived quality that can arise, with the example of the decision to remove a piece composed by the artistic director from the programme. A notable part of the extract is my observation that ‘someone mutters “artists”’; although I have not commented specifically on their tone of voice, a sense of derision could be extrapolated from this interjection. It is important to consider also though whether the ‘amateur’ performers in this situation are aware of a possibly more negative perception of them; as Creech, Hallam, Varvarigou, and McQueen (2013) note, perception is key to the impact of taking part in performances:

While performances seemed to form a significant part of the participants' possible musical selves, it was important that participants perceived their contribution to be valued and meaningful and not short 'token' gestures'.

Creech et al. 2013; 42

A further level of hierarchical difference was introduced to this particular situation by the fact that the conductor of the performance was not the same person who I observed leading the rehearsal process, discussed in Chapter 9 in terms of the power relationships evident during rehearsals. The conductor of the final performance only worked with the group for one rehearsal before the concert, giving an implication of both higher status for him personally and for the performance product over the process.

Amateur-professional collaborations in performance at DISS are therefore not unproblematic in their various manifestations. The residential nature of DISS also enables close relationships between audience and performer in a way that is unusual in most professional (and amateur) performance contexts; this will now be considered, following more general exploration of classical music audiences within and outside DISS.

The audience experience

In live performance situations, unlike private music listening, 'tastes are made public and their social implications are manifest' (Pitts, 2004; 145). Becker (1984) defines three categories of audience members: an inner circle of those involved professionally in the arts; 'well-interested and well-informed participants who make up the social and economic basis of arts production' (Roose, 2008; 238); and arts students who overlap with the other two categories. This segmentation omits a fourth group - those who are less informed and experienced in attending a particular genre of performance. Dobson and Pitts (2011; 335) identify that 'artefacts surrounding classical music performance' are as important as the performance itself, and may represent what Radbourne et al. characterise as 'hidden knowledges within the experience of viewing live performing arts' (Radbourne et al.; 2009; 23), contributing to a feeling of exclusion for those in this fourth audience category.

Conceptualising audiences in this way is relevant to this study since the audience at DISS both represents and contradicts audiences elsewhere. Audiences at DISS are described by both themselves and the performers as different to other contexts; they are characterised as enthusiastic, knowledgeable, open to new repertoire and supportive – but also as occasionally critical. According to Burland and Pitts (2010), audiences who are perceived by themselves and others to be knowledgeable may have higher expectations of the performers they watch. At DISS, this may be fostered further by a sense of ownership over the performance (and the performers), often developed due to long-term attendance, and further enabled by possibilities for interaction surrounding concerts.

[The audience] feel quite a sense of ownership over stuff – they're not afraid to say 'I didn't like what you just did' actually that's quite useful for musicians starting out!

Sally, performer

Radbourne et al. (2009), in their analysis of how audiences define 'quality' of experience, propose a four-strand model, comprising knowledge transfer, risk management, authenticity and collective engagement. 'Knowledge transfer', is concerned with the provision of information to enable 'understanding' of the performance. Consistent with Dobson (2010), this suggests that music is something that can be explained and needs to be understood to achieve optimal listening pleasure. Findings from their research suggest that attendance at concerts is perceived as a 'learning' experience, reflecting the findings of Pitts (2005b; 2017). In her studies, long-term attenders at a chamber music festival ascribed it a 'strongly educative function' (2005a; 10), considering that being challenged and developed was as important as the enjoyment of listening. Conversely, first time concert attenders interviewed by Dobson and Pitts (2011) reported feeling unprepared for what they were going to hear, considering that the programme notes were for those 'in the know' (Radbourne et al., 2009) and inaccessible to those who do not have the necessary language to discuss music. This issue was addressed in a project presenting Bach to young teenage audiences, described by Sloboda (2013); the teenagers were prepared for the concert by workshops beforehand and stated that feeling informed about what they were going to hear contributed to their positive experience of attending the concert. Dobson (2010) explores the question of information provided to audience members, with an exploration of the 'Night Shift' concerts, in which discussion by the performers about the music represents a significant proportion of the concert; participants reported considerable positive impacts on their enjoyment. Audiences at DISS are mainly knowledgeable about the music they are hearing, reflected in their analytical responses to specific aspects of interpretation or performance, particularly in the diary data. Nevertheless, it is also appreciated when performers talk about the works they are about to play, and this is a common feature of many DISS performances.

Risk management entails minimization of negative risk – which may be functional (failure to meet expectations), economic, psychological (presenting a threat to the self-image), or social (concerned with how the consumer wishes to be perceived) (Radbourne et al., 2009). Perceived negative risk may lead to lack of participation or attendance, whereas positive risk may enhance the experience of audience members. Authenticity is considered to refer to two main aspects: the authenticity of the performance offered regarding technical standards, faithful delivery of the score etc., and the authenticity of the emotional perception and experience of the audience, which may outweigh a technically inauthentic performance in terms of enjoyment levels. Reported responses to concerts at DISS echo both aspects of this; here, Alan comments on both the programming and the emotional connection that he felt:

I am completely knocked out by Dominic's programming, playing, performance and sheer musical presence in the sound. He draws the energy from the universal source – waits 10 seconds before playing – and the sense of presence is extraordinary. The programming of solo Baroque violin, contemporary pieces for piano duo and violin solo and violin/piano then finishing with Dvorak is inspirational. This is the concert highlight of the week by far!

Alan, older resident, DD

Finally, 'collective engagement' is defined as 'the audience member's sense of being engaged with the performer(s) and the other audience members and/or with discussions before or after the performance' (Radbourne et al., 2009; 21). This contrasts directly with the fragmented and segregated concert experience described by Small (1998), proposing instead a sense of social inclusion derived from shared experience (Radbourne et al., 2013). The capacity for such engagement to occur at DISS will be discussed in more detail with reference to the data, but a key element identified is the possibility of interaction between performer and audience and between individual audience members, and the potential for the audience's behaviour to actively contribute to the quality of the performance. A further aspect of such collective engagement identified is the possibility of continuing to engage with the music after the performance; at DISS this capacity is significantly increased by the

possibility of playing works heard in performance alongside those who have been performing them and getting direct feedback from these players.

Experience of playing and performing affects the way in which amateurs listen to professional performances. Pitts (2013b) draws attention to the fact that the usual understanding of the interaction between performing and listening as a process where expert performer delivers to receptive listener fails to acknowledge the effects that prior experience of instrumental playing have upon the listener's perspective. These may be positive or negative; DeNora (2000) reports how trained musicians and active music-makers may feel obliged to listen 'intently' to music, feeling unable to have it as a pathway to other activities, and the pianist Susan Tomes, cited in Pitts (2013b), reflects on how her insider knowledge creates tension as she listens, forcing her to focus on the inner workings of the performance rather than the overall aesthetic experience. For amateur musicians, what Pitts (2013b) calls 'experiential knowledge of performance' may be inspiring or distracting; it may be a motivating factor in their own performance, or reinforce a sense of distance between themselves and their professional counterparts (Pitts, 2013b).

The fluid relationship between audience member, performer, tutor and learner was described by Belinda:

I think you've explored stuff in depth and that - the sort of the interval when the performers warm up a bit you suddenly realise, get the hang of the music, you think, ah, this is how you should listen to it. And I think it's got a warmer and more informal atmosphere and there's a sort of closer relationship between the performers and the audience because they've been teaching you all week.

Belinda, older resident

Simon discussed a similar relationship between learning and listening to music:

I think one informs the other, so going to an exciting concert like last night ..., you come away breathless with excitement and even if you don't play the violin and you know that you never would play anything to that standard it inspires you to make your own music with more commitment, and then making your

own music informs your attitude to the music you hear in performances, when you hear familiar pieces you play you think 'oh, I wouldn't have played them like that, ah, maybe I've been missing something, I maybe I would have - I must try something different or I didn't like that, I know that's what I prefer.

Simon, houseparent

The immersive, residential context of DISS means that the type of inspiration described by Simon can be acted upon immediately.

Audience engagement

Dobson and Pitts (2011), researching those attending classical concerts for the first time, found that their participants perceived performances to be culturally valued, aspirational and something that they 'should know more about', but also that the audiences were older, better dressed and better informed about classical music than they were; from these observations it may be inferred that they saw this as a somewhat inaccessible genre. Research at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama reported by Sloboda and Ford (2011) and Sloboda (2013) into how classical music performers can better engage with audiences presents insights. Looking for a way to move beyond 'what might be seen in years to come as a curious historical aberration, the polite, well-educated and repressed audience of the early and mid-20th century' (18) – as described by Small above - Sloboda and Ford (2011) compare classical performances to other art forms. Firstly, they identify that whilst programmes at major classical venues tend to concentrate on canonical works, other art forms present new and established works in equal measure. Secondly, they discuss the predictable versus the unpredictable nature of performance. Whilst other musical genres such as pop and jazz have no published programme, and productions of established theatrical works may include highly unconventional approaches to, for example, staging, classical concerts tend to be predictable, both because of the performance conventions discussed above and because they follow a pre-decided programme allowing little freedom for the performers.

The third area Sloboda and Ford discuss is the personal versus the impersonal: the extent to which performers engage with their audiences. In classical music

performances, they consider that 'performers try to be neutral and invisible, or, as in the case of some well-known soloists [...] engage in exaggerated gestures' (5); audiences too are discouraged from engaging with the performers or other audience members. Finally, they emphasise how positioning the audience in a purely passive mode humbles them in the face of the performance they are witnessing, allowing them only to receive and not to give. Sloboda and Ford conclude that 'it wouldn't be unfair to say that classical music events are, in general, established, predictable, impersonal and passive' (5).

Their paper concludes by exploring two 'unconventional' performance situations – the Proms, an established and renowned concert series which although in many ways relatively traditional in its programming and performance presentation, nevertheless defies convention by allowing audience members to stand (and occasionally sit or lie) to watch concerts, and the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment's 'Night Shift' concert series which presents 'no rules classical music' (Dobson & Pitts, 2011) in the 'party atmosphere' (Sloboda & Ford, 2011; 6) provided by pubs and nightclubs. They identify how these concerts permit an increased sense of camaraderie amongst audience members, connection with performers and informality engendered by the opportunity to choose how to place oneself physically while listening to the music. Performances at DISS do challenge some of the conventions of classical concerts, and provide a space to enact the recommendations made by Sloboda (2013) to classical performers wishing to engage better with their audiences: an improvisatory approach to performance, intimate and personal settings, and the possibility of audiences and performers meeting to discuss the performance and give feedback on questions relevant to the performers. This extract from my fieldnotes gives one example of elements of these recommendations in practice; the 'intimate and personal settings' have already been explored, and the question of audience and performers meeting will be discussed below.

Some changes to the programme - G. explained that they tried works on different instruments and not all of them worked. N. - 'We changed the programme to suit the hour as well, pre-dinner not late night.' Performers spoke in between pieces to give historical context and information about composers.

FN, 30.7.12

Audience-performer interactions

O'Sullivan (2009) considers that 'while the integrity of a personal musical experience is of central value to classical music audiences, the social aspect of its production, at least in terms of communality with the musicians, is inseparable from it.' (217) He adds to this sense of communality with the musicians a sense of community amongst the audience members, calling for 'a refocusing on the biographical aspect of arts experience – how it aligns with the life stage of audience members both individually and collectively' (221). This is extremely relevant at DISS, where for many residents a sense of belonging to an audience and performer community extends across their lifespan – always linked to the same place, reinforcing that connection between music, place and identity referred to by Pitts (2004). Pitts (2005a; 16) discusses 'the close relationship between social and musical enjoyment that is at the heart of concert attendance; a connection well established in relation to musical participation, but given rather less attention in respect to audience experience'. Dobson (2010) found that social motivations for attending concerts were a lower priority than the opportunity to see particular performers or hear certain repertoire, but Pitts et al. (2013) consider that the listening experience in itself is 'strengthened by the collective act of engagement' (86) and therefore inseparable from the presence of others.

Audience-performer connections are discussed by Dobson and Pitts (2011), who found that for their first-time audience members feeling connected with the performers may be more important than musical preferences. The slight informality surrounding performances at DISS enables similar exchanges; many performers speak to the audience during concerts, in either planned or unplanned ways:

The leader introduced each work and chatted about it – it was a scholarly and passionate approach to the music [...] At the end someone shouted from the audience 'Can you play one more please?' – they all laughed together.

FN, 21.7.12

'Relationship management' (Pitts et al., 2013) between performers and their audiences is an important aspect of audience engagement and retention; both players

and audience in a study of the CBSO³⁶ found that attempts to make the players more 'human' and accessible were a strategy to increase loyalty amongst audience members. However, for the majority of audience members in this study, musical excellence was a greater priority than social interaction with the players, with one stating that 'I really don't need to know them beyond the music – that slaps of celebrity culture, which I despise' (Pitts et al., 2013; 78). The authors consider that audiences may be resistant to such interaction due to a desire to preserve the status of orchestral players as having mystique ascribed by their talent.

A sense that these highly accomplished players are within reach, yet still at a professional distance, epitomises the experience of live listening, whereby all participants are connected during the performance, but take their separate responses away at the end of the concert.

Pitts et al., 2013; 80

This is a direct and significant contrast to DISS, where the opportunity for audiences and performers to get to know one another in different scenarios is frequently cited by both amateurs and professionals as a major benefit of attending.

M: ... they're very fine international soloists ... they're very professional in concerts and they usually make a good link with the audience and you do feel that the audience is really part of the occasion, which you don't always find.

HRK: And how do you think they do that?

M: Well I suppose it's partly that it's residential, and so they get to know people and there are people in the audience that they're teaching, ... knowing people, and probably recognising them, so you don't arrive on the stage cold, I think that might be a factor, for them, but also for the audience as well, there are familiar faces that they've seen in other concerts and don't disappear to the Green Room and jump in a taxi, I think that must create something of a relationship with the audience.

Maureen, older resident

³⁶ City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra

The CBSO findings support this perspective in terms of the players' perceptions, who report that they appreciate getting to know audience members, particularly through the 'chair sponsorship' scheme, enabling an 'empathy with the keen listeners' perspective – often necessarily different from that of the professional players' (85). Pitts et al. conclude that it is best to understand the human interactions in the concert hall on a continuum from those who value genuine personal connections to those who are content with 'an assumed intimacy created through recognition of the people around them and mutual engagement in a shared activity' (85). In the DISS context, this continuum could apply to the whole week of attendance; for some people, it represents an opportunity for intense and lasting personal connections with their peers and with musicians from other spheres, whereas for others it is a temporary period of 'assumed intimacy' consistent with that reported by Pitts (2005a) amongst participants at the COMA summer school.

A further benefit of audience-performer connections is discussed by Pitts (2005a) with references to long-term attendance at a chamber music festival: 'having learnt to trust their Artistic Director's choice over the years, most were prepared to risk new experiences' (9). Although this willingness to risk new repertoire is connected to the Artistic Director rather than specific performers, it seems reasonable to infer that loyalty to well-known performers may encourage audience members to be more open to hearing new repertoire. Roose (2008) and Dobson (2008) both make links between risk-taking in the area of new repertoire and regularity of attendance at classical concerts; regular attenders are more likely to be musically rewarded by new and challenging repertoires, whereas for the less frequent concert-goer, familiarity of repertoire is important. DISS provides many opportunities for audience members to take a risk with repertoire; more standard works are often performed alongside more experimental or contemporary pieces, in part due to the aforementioned perception of DISS as a 'safe space' to try out new music. Sophie, a school-aged resident, responded extremely positively to this experimental approach:

The Gallimaufry ensemble did the string quartet ... I loved that so much ... I loved the different ways, I've never heard anybody play a string instrument like

that before ... They were playing it on the neck of the instrument, and making sounds like electronic sounds with the instrument, amazing.

Sophie, teenage resident

The audience-performer relationships described above are cultivated and enabled by the exchanges that take place before and after concerts. Before, between and after concerts at DISS, performers and audience members mingle together in the bar; post-concert 'hospitality' is provided for performers and their guests in a separate room but many choose to go the bar. It is important to mention that access to 'hospitality' is usually granted to those who are invited; but, like in many scenarios at DISS, long-term residents may feel confident to attend, as exemplified by Alan: 'Go to hospitality afterwards to congratulate [the violinist]. Get to meet his parents briefly' (Alan, older resident, DD). Interactions at DISS are similar to those found by Pitts (2005b) at a chamber music festival, where audiences and performers mingled in foyer spaces, allowing a level of contact that was both expected and valued by regular attenders. This mingling of musicians is one of DISS' perceived defining characteristics and is referred to over and over again in the data, and in the rhetoric surrounding DISS. As Alan states in his diary - '[It is a] great thing at Dartington meeting and chatting informally to such high-level performers.' (Alan, DD). This simple statement contains much; the implied status relationship between Alan (who presumably sees himself as 'low-level') and the 'high-level' performers, and his identification of how great it is to chat with them 'informally'; it is worth interrogating though how valuable these kinds of exchanges actually are, and whether saying that you have 'met and chatted with' someone who you admire has any significant impact on musical self-concept, beyond reinforcing the view that your status is less 'high-level'.

References are also made to more detailed exchanges following concerts:

You get a few people, never fellow professionals, who will come up to you the next day or whenever it is and say something negative, because there are people here who feel they want to prove that they know a lot about things ... People who will question your repertoire or say that you played too loudly or something like that.

Jackie, tutor

A feeling of seeing people before and after which is nice ... because if you do a concert and you kind of run off either back to your hotel or you've got to jump on a train to go back to wherever you live, although you might see people briefly after a concert, and the courtesy that people show you in shaking your hand and saying well done is OK, but if, I'm still bumping into people who just said they enjoyed the concert, and perhaps wanted to just query you know what in that piece, or what did I think about this, or that, and a few more people have showed up to the teaching sessions who aren't signed up on my list, perhaps they're just a bit curious, so it kind of feels nice.

Philip, tutor

This capacity for exchange between performer and audience has the potential to support many of the recommendations for both audience recruitment and retention that have been identified in the research and is more of a strength for the performer than the audience member; although the discourse around DISS often focuses on how the amateur is able to interact with the professional, what is conceivably more valuable is the opportunity for the professional performer to interact with audience members in ways that are meaningful.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter discusses performance at DISS from the perspective of performer and audience, situated within wider questions of classical performance ritual, audience engagement and the audience experience. Concerts at DISS are seen to follow the ritualised expectations of classical performance in many respects, with the 'othering' of non-Western performance through outside location and informal approach possibly reinforcing these expectations. Situations in which amateur musicians choose or are expected to behave like professionals may serve to subtly reinforce hierarchical perspectives, as evidenced by the mismatching perspectives of those involved. As in the previous chapter, tensions emerge between process and product, particularly concerning performances involving amateur musicians. The particularity of the DISS context can also challenge norms. The ongoing relationships between audience and performer in the cyclical DISS community facilitate a 'safe space' for experimentation

away from the 'public eye', and the knowledgeable and supportive audience provides numerous opportunities for critical exchanges with peers and those amateur concert-goers who form the bulk of regular audiences.

Thinking devices

- Tensions between process and product in amateur/professional collaborations may reveal underlying negative attitudes towards those on an amateur pathway, presenting a challenge to the inclusive ethos of DISS and potentially in other music-making contexts where musicians from different pathways collaborate in performance.
- Ongoing relationships between audiences and performers present opportunities for experimentation and dialogic exchanges founded in mutual expertise. The residential nature of DISS highlights and enables these relationships, which could usefully be fostered in other performance contexts.

Chapter 9: Musical inclusion, opportunities and hierarchies

DISS, founded for 'every sort of musician' (Warrack, 1950; 377), and influenced by the Utopian principles of the Dartington Hall project, has 'inclusive' music-making at its heart. From the earliest days of the Elmhursts' musical endeavours at Dartington, though, a tension has existed between musical inclusion and musical excellence, which is played out across the teaching, learning and performance contexts already discussed. Inclusivity in the classical music tradition is already a problematic concept, particularly due to the complex relationship between socio-economic background and access to music. The DISS community may be seen to represent a very specific and socially bounded group, described in one case as an 'elitist academy' (Sonul, tutor), but questions relating to research participants' socio-economic status outside DISS were not included in my data collection since this would have broadened the scope of the thesis too greatly. Therefore, issues arising from residents' membership of any socio-economic group cannot be specifically examined. There are, though, issues connected with economic status which arise within DISS, which cannot necessarily be related to residents' socio-economic status outside DISS and are therefore considered in the context of DISS only.

I will discuss questions of inclusion and opportunity at DISS by first problematising the question of 'community' in this context, including exploration of the musical and social hierarchies enacted. I then move to an exploration of participation and agency, followed by access to tuition and repertoire. Finally, I will consider the perceived impact of attending DISS on the lives and musical identities of my respondents in order to foreground the opportunities which it presents; the relationship between these opportunities and the emotional and wellbeing of residents ends the chapter.

An (un) equal community

As discussed above, and widely reported in the literature, many classical music-making situations are typified by hierarchical relationships – between performer and audience, conductor and performers, composer and performer (Nettl, 1995), 'talented' and 'less talented' (Kingsbury, 1998). Although some of these hierarchies may be overturned at DISS, there are also numerous ways in which they are asserted, maintained and

created. Blackshaw (2010) points out the symbolic dimension of social capital 'which contrives to hide networks of power woven into the fibres of familiarity' (76), whilst Hesmondhalgh reminds us of the need

to understand music's potential for sociality and community as ambivalent [...]
Music can reinforce defensive and even aggressive forms of identity that narrow down opportunities for flourishing in the lives of those individuals who adhere to such forms of identification, and in those affected by such choices. But it can also enable life-enhancing forms of collectivity, not only in co-present situations but across space and time.

Hesmondalgh, 2013; 85

In Hesmondhalgh's framing, music can drive people apart and bring them together in equal measure, as to some extent can DISS, where the unspoken power dynamics 'woven into the fibres of familiarity' of the discourse surrounding DISS may undermine its inclusive, Utopian vision. Vivian's comment regarding 'brushing shoulders' with renowned musicians, used in chapter 1 to describe the atmosphere at DISS, may reveal a disconnect at the heart of this vision and begs the question of whether 'brushing shoulders', is enough to provide the kind of 'life-enhancing forms of collectivity' to which Hesmondhalgh refers.

As explored above, attending DISS can grant access to 'famous' musicians; this may be in the form of 'brushing shoulders' with them, being taught by them, or as in Grace's example, playing alongside them;

I was playing a duet with John Wallace, this is John Wallace, who played at the wedding of Diana and Charles ... and he's playing this really simple duet with me, oh my goodness!

Grace, younger resident

In Grace's case, just to have played with a musical idol seems enough; she does not comment on this experience from a musical perspective – other than to categorise the music as 'really simple' – but rather focuses on the fact that this important musician

was prepared to play with her. Harvey also described making music alongside the tutors; his perspective was slightly different:

When they're singing with us they only seem like one of us, they don't seem like amazingly better than us – but when you hear them singing in the concert they sound really good together.

Harvey, teenage resident

For Harvey, unlike Grace, making music together is a levelling experience – it is only when he sees the tutors as performers that he perceives them to be 'better than us'. The residential status of DISS allows for numerous informal interactions between 'famous musicians' and other residents; it is though important to interrogate the extent to which these individuals co-exist in a community.

The following extract from my field notes gives an illustration of how hierarchical status may be more overtly asserted:

[Some of the stewards and I] talk about the concert [yesterday] and how [the soloist] kept complimenting the other performers on stage, which leads on to a discussion about [one of the tutors] and how he was making comments about the singers – bitching according to L. - during the concert, and how he didn't show his ticket at the door despite the fact that other tutors did and there was a clear moment when people were stopping to look for them.

FN, 25.7.12

In this scenario, the tutor asserted a perceived higher status by 'bitching' about singers – in contrast to the performer who compliments them on stage – and by choosing not to show a pass on entering the concert, therefore making an assumption that as a tutor, the stewards would automatically know who he was. Status relationships are also enacted more unintentionally; the following example demonstrates how an intended act of inclusivity may actually serve to reinforce difference:

[Daphne] is performing with an oboist – he isn't great, a bit squeaky and out of tune and obviously quite nervous; but she is very nice to him, smiling and clearly trying to put him at his ease.

Singing workshop 4, 21.8.13

Daphne asking the oboist to perform with her is an act of generosity which disregards musical hierarchies; she is happy for him to play for her despite a disparity in their musical pathway. This situation also serves though to highlight the difference between them, since if I observed that the oboist played squeakily and out of tune, this will inevitably have been noted by others present at the class.

Difference is also imposed by certain 'defined' categories of residents, as described by a DFO member:

[DFO] can seem a little separate from the main course, but in a way kind of self-imposed, because we sort of see ourselves... in my opinion, people see themselves as a bit more serious musicians here - not to work, but...

Paul, orchestra member

This perception of DFO as 'separate' was substantiated by Samantha:

We played the Schubert quintet. It wasn't going hugely well (it's very difficult) and that was a bit awkward because we were in the east wing common room and people kept wandering in and out, and I didn't really want an audience at that point! So I felt a bit depressed afterwards, and when I was chatting to the first violinist she said she was, too. It was mainly for her that the people passing through were in the festival orchestra. Firstly, she finds them a bit bitchy (and I get that impression too from some of them – perhaps mistakenly) and secondly, she was hoping to play with them at some point, but you have to get an existing member to sponsor you and she was worried that she might be spoiling her chances. We each thought that the other was doing fine though, so maybe it was more in our heads.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

Samantha illustrates here how perceptions of hierarchical difference at DISS can lead to feelings of exclusion, and impact negatively on musical self-concept; in her case, it is also relevant that she is playing a musical role as a cellist in which she may feel less confident, given that professionally, she is a singer. This extract also demonstrates how DISS may contribute to the development of professional networks, or equally, how it might serve to reinforce perceived differences in status between groups of musicians.

DISS' aspiration towards inclusivity does though represent an opportunity for a different, less hierarchical, approach to music-making. This reflects the spirit of the carnivalesque; during the period of the carnival, people enter 'the Utopian realm of community, freedom, equality, and abundance' (Bakhtin, 1965, cited in Morris, 1994; 199). With its status as 'the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal' (ibid; 199), the carnival period offers a space for 'the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions' (ibid; 199). This also suggests aspects of community music as described by Higgins (2007) and promotes what he describes as a 'democratic form of hospitality promoting equality and access beyond any preconceived limits' (284). Community music is often characterised by an aspiration towards social change, in part thanks to its roots in the Socialist, participatory music movement of the 1970s, as described by Everitt (1977). The transformative experiences and perceived long-time impact on career and musical identity facilitated by attendance at DISS suggest that it is a context which enables change, but the universality and transferability of this change potential are uncertain.

In a very contrasting situation to DISS, De Quadros (2015) describes an interdisciplinary creative singing project in a prison, where prisoners come to 'new understandings, sometimes uncomfortably so, as a result of the musical process' (509). In this context though it is the combination of shared narrative, context and marginalised state which lead to transformative effects, all of which are somewhat problematic in the DISS context. A further central feature of projects of this kind is their processual approach; as soon as the need to create a musical product is introduced, it could be argued that the capacity for change is undermined. Furthermore, the diverse community at DISS may lack the capacity to be united in the same way as a community of prisoners; the multitude of expectations and aspirations may undermine a sense of bonding, which seems a crucial factor in many community

music projects, often involving marginalised groups who may feel a sense of unity due to their shared status.

Lately, music-making and education has been closely associated with the enactment of social justice, evidenced by the recent publication of the Oxford Handbook of Social Justice in Music Education (Benedict et al., 2015). Jorgensen's chapter in this volume identifies the difficulty in defining social justice. She uses diverse lenses to examine it, including the concept of 'distributive justice', also elucidated by Rawls, whose 'focus is upon ensuring the "common good", or fairly sharing the wealth and benefits of society amongst all its members' (Jorgensen, 2015; 12). Rawls' conception of distributive justice encompasses both the tangible – income, material goods – and the intangible – freedom, political power. It works on two basic principles of justice; that each person is guaranteed an equal set of liberties, and that each person must be as well off in terms of these goods as possible, and suggests that in order to reach this state, individuals are capable of assessing alternative conceptions of justice and equality from what Rawls terms the 'original position'. This position requires an individual to suppose a state where they have no knowledge of their own status in society. Since the individual inevitably aspires to maximise their own access to tangible and intangible goods, if they have no awareness of their own position within society, they are enabled to suggest alternative models of social justice to the status quo. The test of validity of Rawls' method is whether 'over time, the chosen principles can become embedded in the culture of a society' (Graham, 2007; 22). Rawls' model has overtones of the Utopian and the carnivalesque – in order for the 'original position' to be adopted, normal rules of society must be suspended to arrive at a kind of clean slate, somewhat like the carnivalesque sense of a time out of life; his requirement for the principles to be sustainable differs though from the Utopian and carnivalesque, which ultimately occupy an unreal, imagined, or desired state. The challenge in applying this model at DISS is to reach a shared understanding of what the 'common good' may be; in such a diverse musical community, the needs of each sector of the community differ, and thus it becomes complex to envision a shared arrival point in terms of distribution of goods and liberties.

Hesmondhalgh (2013; 31) questions the basic assumed value of musical participation, asking whether 'music [can] really be so autonomous that it floats free of social forces?' and identifying a nostalgic, Utopian quality to the writings of those such

as Small (1998) and Turino (2008), suggesting that they hanker after a notion of community that is not possible in today's re-imagined world. Situating his discussion firmly in the 'liquid modern' age (Bauman, 1998), he suggests that the 21st century 'community', with its simultaneous individualisation of musical engagement through the personally tailored digital playlist, and opening up of possibilities for online participatory music-making spaces, is too diverse to encompass previous visions for participatory music. Following a citation from Turino (2008) which describes a sense of frustration at not achieving 'sonic syncing' while making music in a group, Hesmondhalgh writes:

I recognise the yearning for unity that Turino expresses here. But it is also a yearning that is almost certain to result in disappointment. That might give us cause to wonder about making such desires too much the basis of musical aesthetics and politics.

Hesmondhalgh, 2013; 100

This statement has strong resonances with DISS and the not entirely unproblematic relationships between those making music which have been discussed above, as well as raising some fundamental questions about its Utopian vision.

Connected to this 'yearning' for what may be an impossible 'community' is Elliott and Silverman's (2017) consideration of the importance of the 'ethical dimension' in music-making's capacity to 'play a positive and unique role in the development and communication of various forms of identity' (29). In their framing of the co-construction of identity, when this is carried out 'ethically',

music makers and listeners acquire the musical means they need to build "a certain way of life" – a meaningful life of fellowship, happiness, healthfulness, joy, respect for others, an "ethic of care" for oneself and others.

Elliott & Silverman, 2017; 29

Although they do not define exactly what they mean by this ethical dimension, it could be extrapolated that there is a requirement for equality in the co-construction of both identity and this 'meaningful life'. In the context of DISS, it is important to consider whether an inequality, whether perceived or real, in relationships between residents

might lead to an undermining of this ethical approach to 'human flourishing' which may be enabled by co-construction of musical identity.

In unpacking the notion of an unequal community, the aforementioned financial inequalities underlying DISS are significant, particularly in terms of access to the musicians who are considered to be renowned. Stemming primarily from the allocation of accommodation according to financial and professional status, which reflects the 'medieval court' aspect of the original Dartington Hall project, the socio-economic basis for inequality represented does present a fundamental problem when considering both the 'shared [community] narrative' (Murray & Lamont, 2012) and the 'ethical dimension' (Elliott & Silverman, 2017) of DISS. This issue might also lead to the question of whether DISS is just creating a 'safe space' for exploration and self-discovery for those who already have one, which is particularly pertinent in the context of those on an amateur pathway.

Murray and Lamont (2012) suggest that a community's shared narrative may open up the possibility for change and a different future, but it could be argued that DISS only offers the possibility for impact on an individual rather than a collective level, primarily for those from the groups described by Sloboda and Ford. Furthermore, the difficulty of identifying a 'shared narrative' may be exacerbated by the nebulous nature of the 'Dartington spirit' which as has been seen is viewed as both central to the DISS experience and impossible to define. DISS is often described in magical, 'alchemical' terms, but magic needs a magician, which begs the question of who is really in control.

Participation and agency

The concept of musical participation is fundamental when considering inclusion. Hesmondhalgh (2013) questions a basic assumption that 'music matters because it works for people' (117) noting the conception of agency that underlies this belief which in his view 'implies that people are able, a great deal of the time, to make music work for them at will' (117). Residents sometimes reflect on how musical participation does not 'work for them' in the way they hope, for example Stella's description of a Friday night concert:

Concert a bit of an anti-climax – I think it's the piece. Not very much for the choir to do. Not a good sing in the end.

Stella, houseparent, DD

Elsewhere, Stella describes her love for singing alone and with others, and reflects on the pleasure and sense of achievement gained from witnessing her development as a singer, expressing her agency in wanting to learn more:

I've been trying to think about why I sing:

I love to sing; I've always sung; I used to be good at it when I was young; I want to be able to do it properly; I am being encouraged by my lovely daughter; it makes me feel better.

Stella, houseparent, DD

Her words illustrate purpose, engagement and a dialogic sense of looking forward as well as looking back, contrasting a younger, more successful, musical self with a desire to 'do it properly', and, most importantly an understanding that music makes her 'feel better'. In the previous extract, this sense of agency and strong musical identity has been undermined by her experience of singing in the choir. In identifying that 'I think it's the piece' Stella pinpoints how, when agency is denied through repertoire being selected not chosen, the musical experience can be disappointing and does not 'work for her' in the way that she wants.

Stella's experience illustrates Hesmondhalgh's conception of 'constrained agency' (2013; 40), in which freedom to act is limited by psychological and social dynamics such as personal biographies. Stella's reflection that she 'used to be good at it' and her comparison between herself and her daughter, a professional singer demonstrates how perceptions of agency in musical participation may be limited in this way. Elsewhere in Stella's diary, she illustrates how DISS offers opportunities to step away from constraints that are usually placed on agency, as she describes how she is persuaded to take part in a chamber choir performance:

At dinner, D. [singing tutor] persuaded me to sing in the Chamber Choir – only 2 days of rehearsals left. But I feel so flattered to be asked! (D. has also promised to teach me the music in an extra session – quite a carrot).

Stella, houseparent, DD

The fact that the ‘persuasion’ took place at dinner exemplifies how social interactions at DISS can enable increased agency and a breaking down of musical hierarchies, and can lead to a situation where a singer who would define themselves purely as an amateur is given the opportunity to be seen as a confident musician; the fact that she is asked to sing in the performance indicates that the tutor sees a need for extra ‘good’ singers – the kind of musical ‘leaders’ described above. Stella is also offered an extra private coaching session with the tutor – again, something which falls well outside her usual realm of musical experience, being closer to that of her professional singer daughter.

Agency can manifest as musical freedom, which was widely discussed amongst the professional and aspiring professional musicians who I interviewed, predominantly with relation to a feeling of ownership over the music: chamber music was contrasted with orchestral and solo playing.

The smaller the group the more you can put of yourself into it, so it’s always freer in a chamber music environment.

Selina, tutor

...it’s strange in an orchestra in that way, because you individually do all this work and if you’re lucky enough to find a job then you lose any voice that you did have ... You can’t [make your own decisions] within music and earn money for it unless you play to a high standard, unless you’re really lucky – if you’re a soloist.

Ethan, orchestra member

Solo playing ... really is amazing, and you have all the freedom in the world – nobody depending on you, and nobody’s going to be affected.

Megan, tutor

This freedom is what DISS residents on an amateur pathway can to some extent access more than their professional counterparts; unrestricted by expectations or limitations of what they are 'allowed' to play, they can try to play anything, regardless of whether it is within their technical capabilities. This may be a rewarding experience, or it may lead to frustration, as in the following example:

Jane says the piece is too advanced for [the student] - 'It's not quite there, and that's why you get frustrated with yourself - you know what you want.'

Recorder workshop, 8.8.13

An observation of Lucy's singing class offered a different perspective on repertoire:

'Singing teachers often have a canon of repertoire which they give to their students' – she's encouraging people to explore new repertoire because then they'll start to develop what they like and what suits them

Singing workshop 2, 1.8.12

Here, Lucy is encouraging the students to take ownership over repertoire choices, and to employ their own agency in selecting what works for them rather than their teacher's 'canon of repertoire'.

A connection between musical freedom and repertoire can also be made in terms of Green's (2002) conceptualisation of informal music making, where the selection of repertoire by learners rather than teachers is central. This applies to many music-making situations at DISS, particularly chamber music groups. On occasion, this can lead to individuals or groups selecting repertoire which is too challenging for their level of musical facility, leading to the kinds of frustrations I documented after participating in an ad hoc vocal chamber music session:

We start the piece at the beginning and it's hard! It's difficult to sightread and I'm not so confident reading alto lines anyway because the pitch is so low in my voice and I'm not always used to where the notes sit (compared to singing soprano where I'm often a lot more confident). We stop and start a lot because people are struggling, particularly with the timekeeping.... A. and B. are

definitely the weakest links – they don't seem to be very aware of the other parts and how they should be fitting into them ... It's satisfying when we manage to get it right, but because the music and the harmonies are so weird it's actually quite difficult to know when that is! I'm desperate to suggest that we try something a bit more straightforward.

FN, 22.8.12

This episode reflects many of the challenges of group music-making documented above, but also illustrates how complete freedom to choose repertoire for informal music-making may lead to a feeling of musical dissatisfaction. Furthermore, individual agency may be stifled by an unfamiliar group situation. The balance between agency and musical satisfaction is therefore a complex one to achieve, especially in a situation such as DISS which requires musicians from very different pathways to work together.

Access to tuition

Theoretically, there is equality of access to most tuition at DISS, which can present unusual opportunities, as described by Marit:

[I remember] my masterclass with [a renowned performer of early music] ... I was accepted twice and that's really - that's what you kind of dream of ... you hear [her] and I loved her voice and the kind of way she's singing and being able to have instructions from her.

Marit, older resident

Marit expresses here her pleasure at being 'accepted' to participate in the masterclass and realisation of a 'dream' – although it is unclear whether this dream relates to the acceptance itself, or to working with that singer, as indicated by her admiration of the tutor's singing capability and her delight at being taught by her. Her perception of a correlation between performing skill and teaching ability was echoed by Harvey, discussing chamber music coaching:

The players are definitely better than my teacher ... they know how it is actually to play it and perform it so they can offer more in detailed advice [My teacher only plays] in small ensembles where we live, she's not a professional that goes around touring.

Harvey, teenage resident

Attendance at DISS grants Harvey therefore the opportunity to learn from players whose reach stretches beyond 'small ensembles where we live'; he values their 'touring' experience, considering that it renders their teaching more effective. This equality of access also applies to those on a professional pathway, as exemplified by Daphne:

Just to be in the presence of someone who'd written so many amazing songs, and to have him just hear the songs you were writing ... just to have somebody like that actually give you time, give you his time to listen to stuff that you're writing.

Daphne, younger resident

In Daphne's perception, it is more than anything *time* with that musician that she valued; later in the interview she reflected more on the actual teaching activities, but above all she appreciates time spent with someone who might usually have fallen outside her personal and professional sphere.

Within this seemingly inclusive environment, access is not always as equal as it may appear. Even excluding pre-selected 'advanced' courses, there are inequalities of access within classes. The most overt form is allocation of teaching time; some tutors create a timetable for the week, one example of which indicated that while one student was allocated a total of 120 minutes over three teaching sessions, two others were only allocated 30 minutes each in total. There could be numerous reasons for this allocation of time - individuals' availability and/or willingness to participate, or the length of piece chosen - but for whatever reason, not all course members were granted equal access to the tutor's time. The number of sessions in which they played is particularly significant, since playing in a class once for 30 minutes cannot offer the same opportunities for progression.

Sometimes increased access is granted due to numbers of class members, which becomes unequal in comparison with courses with greater numbers; Lisa gives an example:

I had a lesson on my own with [the saxophone tutor] who corrected my posture and breathing and plans to give me a lesson every afternoon as there are only 2 of us this year. I'd never had an actual lesson before and already I can hear an improvement in my breathing and sound.

Lisa, older resident, DD

The saxophone tutor was an internationally renowned performer; for a player who has 'never had an actual lesson before' to receive daily individual lessons from him is a rare opportunity which arguably would not be found in any other context. On another occasion, Lisa notes that 'He was pleased with my suggestion of how to notate the placement of air and vibrations on the hard palate', illustrating the kind of dialogic, Freirean approach which exemplifies the best of DISS pedagogy. Lisa's diary tracks her pleasure at her considerable progress due to these lessons; it is worth noting though that this level of individualised tuition was available simply because the class was not particularly popular, which points to broader issues of equality of access at DISS.

Access to repertoire

Alongside access to tuition, DISS opens up repertoire that residents may not be able to access in their everyday musical lives, due to instrumental forces required, level of difficulty, or because it is outside the core accessible repertoire of amateur groups, as identified by Belinda, describing her participation in a vocal ensemble course focussing on early music:

It's the sort of thing I would listen to in concerts and buy discs of but I haven't had much opportunity to perform it because it's not the sort of thing our choral society does. It's usually a bit later with lots and lots of accompaniment.

Belinda, older resident

Being at DISS grants Belinda changed access to repertoire and a new relationship with the work, by playing the role of the performer rather than the listener. Later in the interview she identified how being in a group with more confident singers had enabled her to access the music in a way that she would not otherwise achieve; this is echoed by Grace:

I did get to do ... Messiaen 'Quartet for the End of Time', and I never thought of actually getting the opportunity to play that – it was just so fantastic, and the violinist and the cellist were music students, final year music students, and they were fantastic – to get to play a piece like that with players like that!

Grace, younger resident

Grace's joy at playing this work was apparent; access to players from a different musical pathway, combined with the possibility of playing 'a piece like that', was a powerful experience. Messiaen's work, written in a prisoner-of-war camp and first performed by camp inmates in 1941, is famously challenging and emotionally intense; for Grace, who would describe herself as an amateur musician, playing the work allows a connection to its musical and historical significance that is completely different to that of the listener.

This access to repertoire is not exclusive to those from an amateur pathway; Samantha, who at the time was predominantly making a living from singing professionally, reports playing Mendelssohn on her cello:

I played Mendelssohn octet with a big string orchestra, where a resident quartet led 4 of the sections. Quite silly really but fun – nice to get through something so famous that I would never be able to play traditionally! We probably made a terrible racket, but everyone seemed to be enjoying themselves.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

For Samantha, the most significant aspect of the experience was the 'fun'; although playing a work that she considers to be famous and important, she was able to enjoy 'getting through' it while making a 'terrible racket', with none of the requirement for a

faultless performance that she may experience in her professional singing career. Her separation between ‘fun’ and professional expectations echoes the comments made by Rebecca in Chapter 7. The work she describes also holds a mythical status in the classical music canon; composed when Mendelssohn was 16, it is technically demanding and lies beyond the capability of many amateur players. A group play-through like this takes place most years at DISS, reinforcing the work’s status as something that one is lucky to be able to play.

The opportunities to access ‘great’ repertoire described by Samantha and Grace are not unproblematic when considering musical inclusion; both descriptions give a strong sense that this is a rare opportunity, made possible only by the specific circumstances of DISS. Although the meaningfulness of this experience is not to be underestimated in either of their cases, it is worth asking whether this one-time access serves ultimately more to reinforce the perceived inaccessibility of certain works than to challenge it. The question that remains is whether, after leaving DISS, people are motivated to seek out further opportunities to play these works – by finding appropriate players, developing their musical skills, attending similar courses – or see the experience as contained within that particular environment. If the latter, this may mean that they only see themselves as musicians capable of accessing ‘important works’ through playing them when at DISS, whereas in their everyday lives they occupy the role of the listener.

Musical opportunities and the perceived impact of attending DISS

For many residents, attending DISS is perceived to have a significant impact on their professional, musical, and personal lives. One of the strongest themes emerging from the data in this regard was the question of musical opportunities given, taken away or simply not present, and for many who attend, DISS provides the context for these opportunities to re-appear (or appear for the first time). These encounters may be turning points in the residents’ musical life stories, allowing for temporary or lasting identity reformulation.

The opportunity to take risks and have new experiences offers ways of ‘shaking up’ the everyday identity. This may contribute to decisions about careers, offer professional opportunities, address a previous gap in the musical life-course, or just

lead to new friendships and rewarding musical experiences. Whatever the long or short-term impact of attending DISS, residents become part of its community, whether for the length of their stay or across their lifetime. They become associated with the lineage of other musicians who have also been in residence there, which may offer them the opportunity to elevate themselves above their perceived musical status.

For those who aspire to a career in music, this may be on a purely practical level, as described by Sally, who referred to the influence DISS had exerted on both her choices and professional opportunities:

If you look at the arts world in the UK, there's a significant proportion of people who work in music who've trogged at one point of another and I genuinely think I wouldn't be doing what I was doing without having come to Dartington, without question – it completely changed my life. It made music the central thing that I wanted to do, whereas before it was one of the things I was interested in ... I wasn't even sure I was doing music for A-Level, and then I came to Dartington and it was completely obvious I was, and again so in terms of taking it on and studying it, it really sparked something. And then professionally, it was trogging and stewarding, particularly trogging, I remember thinking yeah, this is totally what I want to do – and without noticing it as well, it wasn't, I didn't go for it as a professional development thing, you know, I'm 17, 18, I want to trog because in the future I want a job in arts admin at all – it was like, I love music, I love being at Dartington, I want to get here without having to pay, so I'll come and trog, and it was easy for me, I enjoyed it, being part of something, being behind the scenes and instrumental in making a concert happen for example, that really excited me and it was really fun and because of that it meant that when I then left university and started looking for arts admin jobs I had this massive background.

Sally, performer

Sally's experience encapsulates the impact that attending DISS can have for those who want to make their career in music; she describes the network of those involved in administering the arts encompassed by DISS, and the turning point on her own musical pathway represented by attending as a teenager. Luke stated that DISS 'fits

perfectly [with] that young starting out musician's life' (Luke, tutor), giving aspiring professionals, as Sally describes, invaluable experience and the chance to make connections leading to paid work. Raine identified how attending DISS confirmed the next stage in her musical life:

Just to build up an orchestra ... when I go back ... for me Dartington has been just the place to be right now, just to make me see what I really want to do.

Raine, bursary student

Jane described a similar impact on one of her students:

... when she was eighteen, she was trying to decide what to do, whether she wanted to do music, it was coming here that made her decide that she wanted to go to ... Basel, she's been studying in Basel, so that's amazing to hear that she came here for a week, and then that confirmed that she wanted to try and be a musician.

Jane, tutor

For Françoise, the connections she made opened up professional opportunities; she described how she had returned to DISS to perform alongside the tutors she had worked with as a teenager:

I did a vocal workshop with Evelyn Tubb and she was so nice and everyone was really very encouraging and I think it really it all like played a big part in me wanting to be a professional singer ... so when I was here for the first time when I was 17 [Evelyn Tubb and Michael Fields] were like my heroes ... and later on I ended up working with them which was really amazing.

Françoise, bursary student

Clara, who was considering applying to a conservatoire to study singing, described how meeting a bursary student at DISS had helped her to consider the possibility more carefully:

I think I'm going to audition and if I get in then I'll do it and if not I'll have to think about something else. That's one of the things that's so great about coming here, I met a girl yesterday [who] plays the oboe, and she went to Birmingham Conservatoire which is where I want to go, so it was really great like getting to have a proper chat with her about the way it works and stuff and she was really encouraging.

Clara, teenage resident

DISS residents are surrounded by other musicians with wide-ranging aspirations, providing an ideal opportunity to learn the skills of collaboration and engagement identified as beneficial to the development of a professional career. Many of these fellow musicians are also potential audience members for the aspiring professional, and the opportunity to interact socially and musically with them is a major area where DISS can address a deficit identified by Gaunt et al (2012) in their research with conservatoire students, which found that

...there was less indication of a passion for connecting with people through music, for connecting with audiences, or engaging with people through teaching, creative music-making or other forms of participation, in other words for integrating as a fully functioning person within society.

Gaunt et al., 2012; 32

Through discussion with peers (for example fellow bursary students), they can start to develop a community of those at a similar point in their career, to foster a network of support and skill sharing which can follow them throughout their professional career. The diverse musical activities and genres at DISS differ from many other musical situations, as identified above, and therefore it can be beneficial to students in terms of engaging with new audiences and understanding inter-disciplinary projects, identified by Gaunt et al (2012) as a salient feature of the 21st century musician's career.

For residents who are already on a professional pathway, teaching experienced at DISS can show them new ways of working, as described by Graham and Daphne,

who had attended composition and song-writing courses; in both cases, the condensed timeframe of DISS had revealed new possibilities:

I had to make decisions quicker and settle for, settle for things which I wasn't sure whether they were quite right or not, but just go with it, and that, that was helpful, it was good to realise that I can do that, get it together really quickly.

Graham, younger resident

Realising that there are many ways of approaching song-writing, that you don't have to wait for the muse to approach you, that you can sit down for an hour and come up with a song, you could do something in such a short period of time.

Daphne, younger resident

For those involved in music education, attending DISS can reinforce their identity as a confident music educator, as well as providing new inspiration. Rhona described how having come across the viol for the first time at DISS, she had taken this instrument into her work with her local music service, and Alan described the impact of attending the jazz piano course:

I run two early music ensembles where the students all learn to play the viol ... I managed to persuade [the music service] director to shell out for a few instruments ... and that came from having learned about it at Dartington, from viol playing with the Rose Consort, and medieval music with the Medieval Music – everything I knew about it I learned at Dartington!

Rhona, tutor

Jazz piano class today includes some rhythm work. Gives me some more teaching ideas. Also different ways of descending II V Is by semitones gives another teaching strategy for covering all the keys. No doubt that this course is going to help my confidence in both playing and teaching jazz.

Alan, older resident, DD

For another music educator, Rose, DISS provided the opportunity to experience a different pathway; she described how attending a composition class had led to her being commissioned to write choral music:

I had choral composition class ... which was really really good, really good, really influential ... two of the singers from the group run their own choirs and they've performed my work with their choirs and they've commissioned me and I've written work for them.

Rose, younger resident

For the musician on a professional or education pathway then, DISS provides the chance to confirm their identity as an aspiring professional; for those whose aspirations are towards amateur musicianship, the impact can be perceived as equally significant. It may provide an opportunity to re-connect with an abandoned musical activity, or to seek further instruction:

Introducing himself he said "I blame Dartington for the fact that I've started to take singing more or less seriously - I've started taking singing lessons at home which is a very strange thing to do".

Singing workshop 1, 22.7.12

As well as opening up possibilities, exposure to 'different' types of musician at DISS can also confirm that a career in music is not what someone wants; Sophie was fairly sure that she wanted to keep music as a hobby:

I think it's very hard to make money out of it, then I can see myself taking the fun out of it, and thinking a bit of practice is just going to make me more money and this kind of stuff, then if it's something, I'm still quite young now, it depends how my playing progresses.

Sophie, teenage resident

Other school age interviewees expressed similar ideas; Harvey was clear that music was not what he wanted to do professionally. His reasons for this seemed mainly connected to feeling that he was less musically able than his brothers, but it is worth situating his perception in his attendance at DISS since childhood.

Not music, no, I mean in my family I've always been kind of the least musical I guess - I've probably until this year been the best at an instrument but my brothers have all got perfect pitch and they're always singing round the house and going and playing in concerts and stuff ... I've never been that motivated to do music, I probably could have sat at the back of some orchestra somewhere if I wanted but I could never have done more.

Harvey, teenage resident

It is obviously impossible to prove a correlation between his views on 'sitting at the back of some orchestra' and his long-term attendance at DISS, but it could be assumed that extensive exposure to professional musicians, combined with his perception of his brothers' ability, combine to give him a rather restricted view of his musical possible self.

The effects of attending DISS are not confined to the longer-term potential it has to influence career and musical decision-making; immersion in making and listening to music affords numerous opportunities for emotional engagement, which has both a short and longer-term influence on residents' wellbeing.

Emotion and wellbeing

Whether listening to, making, discussing, or learning about music, DISS residents describe emotional reactions to these various ways of connecting through musical relationships in powerful terms. The majority are positive, with residents describing their reactions as uplifting, wonderful and unforgettable. A sense of achievement, pride and challenge overcome are often frequently referred to, as discussed above. There are negative responses too; people talked about sadness, frustration, fear, nervousness, embarrassment, stress and even anger, and described disappointing musical experiences as listener, player and learner.

Connections between music-making and emotional and physical wellbeing have been well reported in research and the media, but as Clift (2012) points out, many of these claims are based on insufficient or poorly conducted research, and the link between music and health has resonances of a bandwagon, or a justification for the allocation of funding. Nevertheless, the findings of several research projects do suggest that making music with others has greater benefit than individual engagement.³⁷ There is significant evidence to indicate that choral singing in particular may have beneficial effects on self-esteem, particularly amongst marginalised groups, such as in Cohen's (2012) study of a prison choir.

Considerable attention has also been paid recently to the benefits of making music for older people, for example studies by Creech et al. (Creech, Hallam, Varvarigou & McQueen, 2013; Creech, Hallam, Varvarigou & Gaunt, 2013). Work with those living with dementia has become increasingly current and many creative projects are springing up, such as that described by McCabe et al. (2013), where those living with dementia and their carers taking part in a project with Scottish Opera reported improved physical strength and self-esteem. A notable feature of DISS compared to many other music-making situations, both residential and not, is the multigenerational community, and in particular the significant number of residents aged over 70. As Caroline commented while chatting to me after her interview, it is rare to find a music-making scenario in which older and younger musicians are treated equally as learners, players and performers, and where instead of music being used 'therapeutically', it serves to bring together people across the age range in a situation where they are able to engage in music-making on their own terms.

This, as discussed above, is not without its problems; a correlation at DISS is often made between youth and talent, and there is a correlation between the socio-economic background of many of the older residents and their access to tutors and performers in social situations. Nevertheless, as Van Hiel and Brebels (2011) note, the possibility of individually enacting self-esteem enhancing behaviours decreases with age due to diminished capabilities; cultural and collective factors which can influence self-esteem become more important, creating, in the authors' view, a strong link between cultural conservatism and self-esteem. This is evident at DISS through

³⁷ See Weinberg and Joseph (2017) for a summary.

resistance to perceived changes at the institutional level, particularly amongst longer-term residents; but it also provides a context in which older music-makers *are* able to engage, both individually and in groups, in activities which can boost their self-esteem through learning new skills, feeling the rewards of playing new and familiar repertoire, and facing new challenges.

I've met an elderly gentleman of over 80 who has just taken up the cello, and B. who runs the chamber music in weeks four and five, she's absolutely brilliant, she's got him involved in playing a quartet that he can manage at his level.

Rosalind, older resident

I reported in my fieldnotes on a conversation I had over lunch with J., a long-term attendee, then in her 70s:

She's also talking about how she's getting older and how this makes it difficult being a jazzier in the back row because you aren't always given instructions for what to do next so you are really reliant on your ears – and she can't hear as well as she used to be able to.³⁸

FN, 5.8.12

J.'s perspective illustrates how she is facing the challenges of ageing – not being able to hear as well as she used to – but at DISS she is a 'jazzier in the back row' rather than a lady in her 70s with a hearing problem.

There is considerable research into the emotional impact of music listening, with DeNora (2000) paving the way for investigations into the role of music in regulating the emotions in everyday life. Västfjäll et al. (2012), for example, report a strong correlation between listening to music, particularly self-selected, positive emotions and the reduction of stress. Findings from the data suggest similar positive impacts of listening to music as an audience member at DISS; comments fell into five broad categories. Respondents described the immediate impact on their emotional state of hearing a performance, using terms such as dramatic, powerful, and moving.

³⁸ A term often used to refer to jazz musicians.

They reported on the unusual repertoire or types of performance, using terms such as exciting, engaging, captivating, and surprising. They expressed awe at the performers' skill, discussing the humbling effect of seeing such 'top names', and being 'blown away' by the talent on display. In some cases, hyperbolic language such as brilliant, sensational, wonderful and exquisite were used to express extremely strong favourable reactions to hearing performance. Finally, respondents reflected on the longer-term influence of performances at DISS, describing them as inspirational or memorable. It can be seen from this summary that exposure to live music at DISS has a significant positive effect on the audience's emotional state; with only a few references to negative emotional responses, with these being disappointment, a feeling of being unconvinced by the performance, or a lack of understanding of the repertoire.

In contrast, emotional responses to making music cover the full range of possibilities. The following extract from Samantha's diary provides a good insight into the emotional highs and lows that might occur during just one day:

In the morning I played Brahms clarinet quintet – the players were good but it wasn't remotely together, the first time I've felt a bit depressed all week! It just felt like we were playing through and getting lost and never getting right. Then I went to samba and felt like I was getting the hang of it a bit better.

In the afternoon I played some Mozart and Elgar with a piano quintet. The other strings were chatting quite a lot whilst the pianist and I were keen to play, but I managed not to get too irritated... think I was still a bit grumpy after the morning. Then I played some modern pieces for clarinet and cello. They were almost impossible to read! But I've played with the clarinettist twice so he knew what he was getting before he asked me to play. I had to really let go of getting the notes right and focus on being in time and together. After a while I was enjoying it, but I was pretty exhausted after 2 hours.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

Samantha describes 'feeling depressed', 'getting the hang of it', feeling 'irritated' and 'grumpy' as well as, eventually, 'enjoying it', tempered though with exhaustion; her self-esteem suffers at times, as well as being boosted by 'getting the hang' of samba.

The sources of her emotional responses related to many of the issues discussed above; getting the music right, group dynamics and playing with both new and familiar people – ‘he knew what he was getting before he asked me to play’. This last statement is particularly telling in terms of her musical self-esteem, as she denigrates herself with this rather derogatory reference to her own abilities. A clear sense of what would make her feel positive about a musical experience comes through this extract and is reflected in another extract from her diary:

In the morning, played some Beethoven with a clarinettist and a pianist who were both better than me – eek! Although they had graded themselves higher than me, and asked me anyway, so they knew what to expect. It was surprisingly OK and ended up going quite well, because even in technically difficult passages we were listening and together.

Samantha, younger resident, DD

Although she refers again to her own musical ability in rather negative terms, she describes pleasure at ‘listening and [being] together’, something which is noticeably absent in her previous reflections on music-making.

DISS provides many opportunities for challenging new musical experiences, as described above, which as Jennifer identifies can provoke different responses. She describes playing the shawm, an instrument which she has come to relatively recently, in the Early Brass course:

When you can rise to [a challenge], it makes you feel good, sometimes it’s too much of a challenge and then you come away feeling that you’ve not achieved, or that you’ve achieved less, doing worse than you did when you started, you know I think a lot of it’s to do with confidence and it’s quite a fine balance between having enough confidence to play well and losing the confidence that you can play at all and then you know you can end up doing things, you can make mistakes that you wouldn’t normally make, when you play, but it’s all fluctuating, performance, achievement, when you achieve, you can’t be always on an increasing achievement scale.

Jennifer, younger resident

Her expectation of music-making seems to be that it will not always lead to a sense of achievement, and that this sense of rising to a challenge will be tempered by making mistakes; but she seems happy with this and sees that it is all part of the process of making progress – although, as she identifies, ‘you can’t always be on an increasing achievement scale’. Delia, who has also recently started playing the flute, described similar responses:

I’ve been going to the wind ensembles which have been really brilliant,
daunting, terrifying at times, exciting.

Delia, younger resident

Lamont’s study of the ‘strong experiences’ of 35 university music students found that ‘Most of the long-term effects on individual participants’ performing careers and choices (personal meaning) came from experiences that prioritized challenge rather than pleasure through music’ (Lamont, 2012; 588) and the data supports this perspective, with several interviewees and diary writers reporting the impact of a challenging experience on their subsequent or planned musical lives. Creech, Hallam, Varvarigou, and McQueen (2013) found a correlation between learning new skills in a structured or regular fashion and subjective well-being; this does raise the question of what happens when new skills are learned at DISS and cannot be carried on elsewhere due to lack of opportunity, access to instruments or teachers. For example, Tony referred to a disconnect between the enjoyment of the members of his African drumming class and the possibility of continuing the activity outside DISS, because of the requirement for specific equipment. Nevertheless, there were enough instances in the data of a positive impact on wellbeing through learning new skills at DISS – and transferring them into ‘real’ life – to suggest that this is the case for the majority of residents.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter considers DISS as a site for musical inclusion, where tensions regarding equality and access are revealed. The diverse musical community was seen to present challenges in terms of arriving at a shared understanding of what ‘social justice’ and

the 'common good' might be, as well as containing some hidden and more overt hierarchical relationships. Diverse understandings of the 'Dartington spirit' also contribute to the challenge of finding a shared conception of the 'common good'. The question of whether real or perceived inequality between residents undermines 'human flourishing' through co-construction of musical identity was also raised. Musical participation is considered from the perspective of agency, particularly in terms of musical freedom and approaches to repertoire; the balance between agency and musical satisfaction was revealed to be significant. Exploration of quality and equality of access to tuition and repertoire at DISS reveals differences in residents' experiences, particularly in terms of amount of teaching time. Musical opportunities at DISS are considered through the lens of the perceived impact of attending, which was seen to be particularly significant for aspiring professional musicians. Shorter-term perceptions of impact were examined through the lens of links to emotion and wellbeing.

Thinking devices

- The elusive 'Dartington Spirit' seems fundamental to the institutional ethos, but variously understood by residents, leading to challenges in considering DISS as a 'community'.
- DISS presents opportunities to access works in the classical canon lying beyond residents' reach or usual repertoire; if these works can only be played in the unique context of DISS, this access may serve only to reinforce that they are inaccessible in residents' everyday lives.
- DISS presents opportunities for older musicians to engage with music-making as musician and learner, rather than recipient of 'therapeutic' activity. This re-framing of music-making with older musicians has considerable potential to contribute to music-making activities beyond DISS.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

Sometimes I love [DISS], sometimes I don't understand it, part of me doesn't understand why it exists in a way, or how it exists.

Dominic, tutor

Embedded in the mythology and discourse of generations of residents, and located in a network of significant figures of the classical music world, a community assembles each summer at DISS. It comprises an unusual mix of individuals at different stages on varied musical pathways, collaborating in fluid configurations to play the parts of learner, teacher, ensemble member, performer, and audience member. For some, DISS represents an opportunity to fulfil an alternative identity; for others, it represents a staging post on a professional pathway; for all, it offers opportunities for 'musicking' which contrast to their everyday lives. Their experience is underscored by dialogue between process and product, participation and presentation, inclusivity and exclusivity. This study has allowed me to examine a location of deep personal significance in my musical life. Whilst this positionality as an insider researcher has imposed limitations on the research, it has also allowed me to connect with the residents who share this profound impact on their musical identity. In this final chapter, I present the conclusions of my study, drawing together the lines of dialogue between my initial research foci and the 'thinking devices' identified throughout. I also consider the implications of these findings, alongside possibilities for future research.

I begin by stating that it has never been my intention to evaluate DISS, nor would I consider myself able to do so with research of this type. The final conclusions presented here are intended therefore to reflect a moment in time, through the lived experience of those I interviewed, observed and 'musicked' with during the two phases of my data collection. Any suggestions for areas for potential development or change at institutional level are founded on those perceptions only and must be taken as such. It is important to note also that, since conducting my fieldwork, significant institutional change has occurred at DISS. The most noticeable shift concerns formal performances, which are now given primarily by professional and aspiring professional residents; this has impacted significantly on the tensions identified between musical process and product.

My study began with a review of the changing relationships between participatory and presentational music-making throughout the history of classical music, contextualising the founding of a summer school intended to bridge a perceived gap between amateur and professional music-making, teaching, learning and performance. From the earliest days of the Dartington Hall project, tensions arise between ‘participation’ and ‘presentation’, or ‘standards’, which inform and influence the potential for dialogue with the ‘other’ in collaborative music-making settings. Against the not uncomplicated background of the Elmhirsts’ Utopian vision of artistic, rural and educational community, examination of the genesis of DISS in its current form also illustrated its status as a product of its musical and ideological times. This raises questions of how it can adapt to the changed and changing musical landscape of the twenty-first century, and links to wider interrogations of the relevance of Utopia as a concept for modern times (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Recent problematisations of Utopia reveal a tension between individual and collective Utopian visions, and consider Utopianism to be a process of escape through distraction from the everyday, rather than a model of alternative ideal society as laid out in More’s original vision.

These perspectives on Utopia resonate with some fundamental propositions underlying analysis of DISS. Dialogue between individual, collective and institutional expectations and aspirations arises in collaborative music-making, rehearsal, and teaching situations. This has been seen to be productive in revealing the ‘space between’ but can also reveal fundamental differences in positionality. The ritualised, residential nature of DISS contributes to characterisation as ‘time out of life’, a quality highlighted by analysis through Bakhtin’s lens of the carnivalesque and the leisure role which DISS fulfils for many residents. As Löfgren (1999) observes, holidays represent a Utopia under our control; this quality of escapism resonates with Leonard Elmhirst’s description of Dartington Hall as a ‘fairyland’ and raises the question of how the ‘magical’ traits of the DISS experience might translate into the ‘real world’, once the carnival is over. Both within and beyond DISS, there may be a disconnect between Utopian ideals concerning the democratization of arts and the talent and status based hierarchies which are so prevalent in the classical music tradition.

Within this ‘time out of life’, the possibility of the individual ‘DISS identity’ emerges. Situated within discussion of the relational musical and leisure identity, the dialogic space provided by DISS enables a fluidity of relationships between the musical

selves of the individual, and between musicians from diverse pathways. Identities are constructed and reconstructed through praxial engagement in learning and group music-making; this may lead to the adoption of a 'DISS identity', often stable during residence at DISS, but with the potential to disrupt or transform the everyday musical self. This 'second life' afforded by DISS allows residents to play the part of their past, present, future, desired or possible selves, but it highlights absences as well as offering opportunities. Contained by the headiness of the summer season, which highlights its transience and connection with a particular geographical space rather than allowing extension into the everyday life, it may be as much a 'still point in the turning world' (Eliot, 1944) as it is a turning point in the musical life story leading to opportunities and re-imagining of the musical self.

The experience of attending DISS is musically immersive, but experienced at different levels of inclusion by residents. Long-term participation grants an 'insider' status for those attending as tutors, administrative staff and residents, often underlined by inequalities of accommodation. Tutors, performers and higher-paying residents are housed closest to the artistic hub of performance and granted increased access to one another by a shared dining room. Furthermore, the development of a 'DISScourse' surrounding the DISS experience both includes and excludes those attending. Long-term attendance at DISS also grants greater confidence in the DISS identity, and therefore increased access to musical opportunities. 'Knowing how things work' can alleviate confusion in the face of the complex organisational structures at DISS; it can facilitate interactions between musicians from different pathways; and it can enable residents to immerse themselves fully in the musical opportunities available. However, the cost of attending DISS rises each year, and in times of fragile economic circumstances this situation can only worsen, leading to a risk that DISS becomes the domain only for those whose economic circumstances permit attendance. It is notable also that most people reported initially finding out about DISS via word-of-mouth, contributing to the risk that it becomes an increasingly closed 'bubble', perpetuating wider issues of economic exclusion from music-making.

Iterations of the musical self through musical role-playing reveal the benefits and challenges of this particularly diverse musical community. These are evident in the interactions between the public and private dimensions of music-making, with a processual approach to music-making – through learning, teaching and informal music-

making - contrasting with the pressures of public sharing through performance. In terms of teaching and learning, DISS offers the possibility for multiple pedagogical approaches, and analysis revealed contrasting aspects of these pedagogies, in particular with regard to their relationship with the musical score, which was perceived as a medium which may act as a medium of distinction, exchange, possibility, constraint or freedom.

A tendency towards the 'othering' of non-Western musics and their pedagogies, and a tension between a transformative, dialogic DISS pedagogy and a more 'momentary' teaching, both raise questions which have relevance in other music education contexts. The tension between process and product, revealed through different expectations of non-Western and 'classical' genres, may lead to 'othering' of these musics, while 'momentary teaching' may not always fully adapt practices from formal teaching approaches – predominantly the masterclass format – to encompass the needs of all learners and account for the condensed time-frame. The concept of mimetic learning, in a context where the 'model' for learning may be present as both tutor and peer, is particularly pertinent at DISS, where the presence of role models with very different aspirations and expectations can present both a challenge to the stable musical identity and opportunities for access to musical fulfilment.

The 'DISS pedagogy' has the potential to be highly effective and facilitate multiple kinds of learning but is not entirely unproblematic. Tutors may not always achieve the kind of 'transparency' (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in their teaching that would allow learners – and other tutors – to enter fully into the community of practice. There are limited opportunities for communication between tutors, or from the DISS administration, about the most effective ways of working with the diverse community of learners. The 'masterclass' format of many courses is perhaps not always the most appropriate; the pedagogical aspirations it presents, drawn from a professional pathway, present challenges to both the learner from an amateur pathway and the teacher who must adapt to the diverse learning community. Some of the most 'inclusive' teaching, opening up new spaces for making music and learning, was seen in non-Western music contexts. It could be, though, that the subtle hierarchical presentation of these musics at DISS – and elsewhere - might undermine this value.

Analysis of relationships to the act of music-making illustrated how talent is a situated, contextualised concept, with DISS providing its own stage on which

performers may be considered 'talented'. Despite DISS' aspirations towards inclusivity, relational conceptions of musical ability are common, as are differing perceptions of what constitutes a fulfilling musical experience. These were explored particularly with relation to the challenges of making music with a group of unfamiliar colleagues, in contrast to the everyday musical lives of residents; in many cases, these scenarios revealed tensions between the expectations and aspirations of those present. Dialogic exchanges in these contexts also illustrated how comparative musical ability might be reinforced through decisions made about who to make music alongside, highlighting differences between residents' perceived musical ability and that of others.

Analysis of performance at DISS reveals that it does have the potential to be a model for changing performance practice. Its uniqueness in terms of audience-performer relationships, tutors as performers, teachers and pupils performing side-by-side, and amateurs and professionals performing together offers considerable potential, with the main benefits being the ongoing relationships between performers and their audiences, the possibility for immediate feedback and discussion about repertoire and performance, and a safe environment to try out new works. These features of the DISS performance environment could be transferred to other locations, although it is important to consider whether they would function as effectively outside a residential context. Perhaps for these aspects to be most effective they need to be made more explicit, and presented as an important part of the DISS experience, a clarity of communication which could be extended to other musical situations combining the 'amateur' and 'professional'. The performance practices of non-Western musics also risked being 'othered' in their presentation; the requirement for performance by a group of beginner players exemplifies the difference in expectations at institutional level, and although dialogue between genres was discussed by course tutors of non-Western musics, the possibilities presented by the multiple musics located at DISS are perhaps not always exploited as fully as they might be.

Conceptions of community in the DISS context were revealing. A particularly significant aspect of this mythologization is the 'Dartington spirit', which was characterised as containing several elements, granted different levels of significance by individuals. At the heart of this 'spirit' lies an attitude towards music-making where all are welcomed and celebrated, but it also implies an aspiration towards, and expectation of, high standards in both musical process and product, together with an

embracing of new and innovative ways of making music. The 'Dartington spirit' was perceived as fundamental to an understanding of both DISS and the wider Dartington project, but it appears that differing understandings of what it might contribute to challenges in reconciling its varied facets, and, more broadly, in making sense of and communicating a shared vision for DISS.

DISS itself appears at times to have a confused identity at institutional level, connected in part to the changing status of Dartington and its summer school in the wider musical landscape. DISS has always been a site for renowned musicians to come together, and for those on an amateur pathway to encounter them, but in the twenty-first century there are many other physical and virtual contexts in which these meetings might take place. DISS has long faced challenges in recruiting young aspiring professionals to participate, which have been exacerbated by the plethora of opportunities now available for this group of musicians to learn from established performers and teachers. Refocussing institutional understanding of the 'Dartington spirit' as fundamentally aspiring to inclusion and experimentation, without necessarily always needing to encompass excellence, might lead to a clearer understanding of what really is unique about the opportunities DISS presents.

For those residents on a professional pathway DISS provides significant opportunities and possibilities for exploration, experimentation and learning, in a context of shared understandings, just as it does for those whose aspirations are more amateur. The question is though whether those two groups really do intersect as much as the discourse surrounding them might suggest. When people just 'brush shoulders' with each other, and 'amateur musicians and holidaymakers' are on the 'fringe of it all', it is important to interrogate the extent to which 'community' really exists. If DISS is to be considered as a model for how musicians from an amateur and professional pathway might work together effectively, it is important to consider how the experience of making music together seems in some cases to reinforce perceived differences between groups; nevertheless, the many instances for constructive dialogue which have been revealed should not be ignored either. Considered as a site for musical inclusion, therefore, DISS is again a complex phenomenon; on the one hand offering the possibility of access to musicians and repertoire, but on the other hand demonstrating the challenges of allowing 'human flourishing' for every member of such a diverse community.

Analysis of the relationships between music, emotion and wellbeing revealed that an important aspect of the DISS community is its multigenerational nature. It offers many possibilities for the older musician to be treated as just that, rather than someone for whom music serves a therapeutic purpose, but also seems to draw a potentially negative correlation between youth and higher levels of musical facility. The blending of musicians of different ages often led to constructive dialogue and repositioning of the musical self; perhaps this is an area where the value of intergenerational music-making could be made more explicit to the residents of DISS. This seems to have particular value for the aspiring professional, since, as has been discussed, increased understanding of their amateur counterparts as music-makers can only be a benefit to the future professional musician.

In sum, then, exploring this unique site for music-making in the classical tradition has presented several thought-provoking findings, with relevance to the wider music education context – in summer schools, adult education centres, higher education, ‘outreach’ activities, community settings and informal or leisure situations of all kinds. The possibility for full immersion in a ‘leisure’, or DISS, identity, offered by the residential nature of a summer school, can, as has been discussed, also reveal significant disconnects between this and the everyday musical identity. In many contexts, the opportunity to maintain connections between the layers of the ‘snowball self’ (Smith, 2013) and those who have informed it through, for example, use of technological and virtual communities could be of considerable value in enabling the ‘human flourishing’ which collaborative music-making can allow. This often happens informally through the use of social media, but more explicit and ‘formal’ methods of facilitating this type of communication could be beneficial to many individuals. Linked to this question of identity is the need not to make assumptions about shared notions of what ‘musical identity’ might be or become; as has been seen at DISS, it is a mutable phenomenon, influenced significantly by dialogic exchange and the possibility of visiting and revisiting different versions of the self.

The prevalence of the masterclass format in teaching and learning at DISS has been shown to be problematic in some cases; this also applies outside DISS, as musical teaching in many adult and lifelong learning contexts follows a similar format. Exploration of a more dialogic, responsive, pedagogy in these contexts would allow for a more supportive relationship between all the members of the community of

practice, with a more flexible approach to pedagogy that really reflects the context – such as the best of DISS pedagogy – having the potential for significant impact. Beyond explicit teaching and learning activities, DISS has revealed that there is much potential for informal, peer and ‘sociable’ learning, particularly in terms of appreciating that there is much more to musical capability than craft skills. Celebrating the value of all aspects of musical learning and privileging the attributes of the ‘knowledgeable audience member’ could open up significant possibilities for meaningful dialogue between musical performers and lifelong music-makers from all pathways.

Making music with those considered to be ‘other’, either in terms of age or musical pathway, has been shown to present significant opportunities but also challenges in terms of the potential to reinforce perceptions of difference. There are many scenarios in which aspiring professional, professional and amateur musicians find themselves making music together outside DISS; perhaps some of the lessons learned from this study regarding the potential for mutual understanding and shared learning might be applied more widely. Contexts in which they might be useful could be, for example, performances where more experienced performers are recruited to ‘bump’ amateur groups, or projects where students from conservatoires work alongside members of staff in schools, care homes, or other settings for outreach and participation projects. In many of these settings, members of different groups may be physically separated or have limited opportunities for communication or informal interaction; enhanced possibilities for dialogue and co-creation of musical processes and products could develop mutual learning, understanding, and appreciation of the many ways of being a musician.

This study has also opened up several questions which I consider to be worthy of further investigation, in the DISS context and the broader classical music sphere. Further longitudinal exploration of the relationship between music-making at DISS and in everyday life for residents on an amateur pathway could throw up some revealing findings, which could further enhance the potential to transfer some of DISS’ unique qualities to other settings. The relationships between audience and performer facilitated by DISS may have the potential to address many of the issues of audience engagement and retention identified by research, and seem worthy of exploration more closely, both at DISS and potentially in other contexts. Amateur-professional collaborations in performance situations are becoming increasingly more common, as

previously noted. Further awareness of how the diverse aspirations, expectations and intentions of these groups identified at DISS interact, and the potential impact of making music with 'different' types of musicians on the musical self-concept could be of value to those involved in organising and leading such projects. The unique qualities of the multigenerational aspect of DISS had not struck me before conducting this study, and would merit further investigation at and beyond DISS; I see exciting potential for creative projects and research in music making and listening in this area, particularly with aspiring professional musicians, who could lead the way in seeing older musicians as just that, rather than participants in a more therapeutic intervention.

I finish as I began, with an extract from TS Eliot's 'Four Quartets':

Time past and time future

What might have been and what has been

Point to one end, which is always present.

Eliot, 1944; 4

For me, this extract embodies the complex relationship between DISS and the possibilities it offers to its residents. 'What might have been and what has been' - the possible and actual musical pathways of its residents – intersect with the music-making opportunities available. These are 'always present', both contained within the time of attendance and providing a reference point for future musical interactions and experiences. For those at the start of their musical lives, the relationship between the present and future is immediate and may be significantly impacted upon by attendance at DISS. For those who are nearing the end of their lives, many of whom have had DISS as a constant presence throughout their lifetime, it represents an opportunity to connect with 'time past' through a 'present' of active music-making, engagement, and listening.

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Appendix 1: Interview participants and diary writers

Interviewees, 2012

Name	Week	Age	Type	Times attended	Source	Non-selective activity	Selective activity	Data reviewed?
Belinda	1	60 – 70	A	1	Q	Choir, vocal ensembles, improve sight-reading		Message sent via DISS: no response
Douglas	1	20 – 30	B	1	AC		Baroque Orchestra	Email sent via website: no response
Doreen	1	50 – 60	MGP		Q	Choir, chamber music, Medieval Music		Message sent via DISS: no response
Esme	1	30 – 40	T	5 – 10	Q		Early Brass (T)	Data reviewed
Harvey	1	15 – 20	S	3 – 5	Q	Chamber music, orchestra, vocal ensembles		Message sent via Facebook: no response
Jenny	1	70 – 80	A	30 +	Q	Vocal ensembles, Medieval Music		Data reviewed
Margaret	1	60 – 70	MGP	2	Q	Beginners Composition		Message sent via DISS: no response
Naomi	1	50 – 60	A	2	Q	Viol consorts, chamber music		Did not wish to review
Rebecca	1	50 – 60	A	2	Q	Choir, beginner gamelan, chamber music		Did not wish to review
Renee	1	40 – 50	MGR	2	Q	Choir, Medieval Music, vocal ensembles		Data reviewed
Tabitha	1	15 – 20	S	1	Q	Choir, vocal ensembles, chamber music		Unable to contact
Clara	1	15 – 20	S	1	O	Andrew Watts, improve sight-reading, Emma Kirkby (obs)		Unable to contact
Elizabeth	1	60-70	T	30 +	AI		Vocal masterclass (T)	Not cited

Esther	2	70 – 80	A	30 +	Q			Not cited
Francoise	2	20 – 30	B	5 – 10	Q		Baroque Opera	Data reviewed
Helen	2	20 – 30	B	2	Q		Baroque Orchestra	Did not wish to review
Lucy	2	50 – 60	T	30 +	E	Vocal Workshop (T)		Emailed: no response
Louise	2	60-70	A	30 +	Q	Choir		Unable to contact
Marit	2	60 – 70	A	15 – 20	AP	Baroque Opera choruses, Andrew Watts		Message sent via DISS: no response
Joe	2	40 – 50	T	5 – 10	E	Dirty Electronics		Emailed: no response
Donald	3	40 – 50	A	1	Q	Choir		Did not wish to review
Elena	3	30 – 40	MGP	2	Q	Singing masterclass, chamber choir		Did not wish to review
Graham	3	20 – 30	B	1	AC	Advanced Conducting (obs)	Composition	Emailed: no response
Rose	3	20 – 30	MGR	4	Q		Composition	Unable to contact
Jean	4	40 – 50	MGP		AI	Alexander Technique (T)		Did not wish to review
Matthew	4	30 – 40	ACC	15 – 20	AP			Data reviewed
Susan	4	50 – 60	A	5 – 10	Q	Chamber music, Alexander Technique		Did not wish to review
Simon	4	50 – 60	HP	30 +	Q	Choir, chamber music		Data reviewed
Toby	4	50 – 60	A	2	Q	Songs from the shows		Data reviewed
Rosalind	4	60-70	A	30+	Q	Choir, chamber music		Unable to contact
Delia	5	50 – 60	A	1	Q	Wind ensembles, flute class		Unable to contact
Ella	5	30 – 50	A	1	Q	Orchestra, double bass class, Choro, Alexander Tech, Salsa		Emailed: no response
Paul	5	20 – 30	DFO	2	Q	Chamber music	DFO	Data reviewed

Raine	5	20 – 30	B	1	Q	String orchestra, chamber music, salsa, orchestra	Violin masterclass	Did not wish to review
Sophie	5	15 – 20	S	2	AP	Orchestra, piano, oboe masterclasses		Unable to contact
Vivian	5	50 – 60	MGP	2	Q	Orchestra, wind chamber music, tea dance band		Did not wish to review

Diary writers (2012)

Name	Week	Age	Type	Times attended	Non-selective activity	Selective activity	Data reviewed?
Erin	1	20 - 30	T	5-10	Vocal ensembles (tutor)		Did not wish to see
Stella	1 and 2	40 - 50	HP	5-10	Vocal workshop, choir, chamber choir		Did not wish to see
Lisa	5	40 – 50	MGP	15 – 20	Wind band, saxophone workshop		Did not wish to see
Robert	1 and 2	50 – 60	A	15 – 20	Choir, vocal ensembles	Baroque opera choruses	Data reviewed
Alan	3 and 4	40 – 50	MGP	15 – 20	Jazz piano, piano duo, free improvisation, choir		
Samantha	3	30 – 40	A	1	Chamber music, samba		Emailed: no response
Catherine	3	20 -30	T	3	Chamber music (tutor)		Did not wish to see

Interviewees, 2013

Name	Week	Age	Type	Attendance	Source	Non-selective activity	Selective activity	Data reviewed?
Rhona	1	50 – 60	T	30 +	Q	Improve sight reading (T), Chamber music (T)		Did not wish review
Tony	1	60 – 70	T	10 – 15	E	African Drumming (T)		Did not wish review
Cameron	1	40 – 50	T	1	E	Mbira (T)		Emailed: no response
Gordon	1	30 – 40	T	5 – 10	F	Early Brass (T)		Emailed: no response

Jack*	1	30 – 40	T	5 – 10	E	Choir (T)		Emailed: no response
Jennifer	1	30 – 40	A	3	Q	Topping Tooters		Data reviewed
Jerome	1	20 – 30	B	1	AI		Baroque Orchestra	Not cited
Maureen	1	50 – 60	MS	5 – 10	Q	Vocal ensembles, choir, vocal masterclasses		Emailed: no response
Natalie	1	50 – 60	T	15	E		Baroque Orchestra (T)	Emailed: no response
Selina	1	30 – 40	T	2	E	Chamber Music (T)		Data reviewed
Sonul	1	40 – 50	T	10 – 15	F	Gamelan (beginner and advanced) (T)		Did not wish review
Caroline	1	60-70	A	30 +	Q	Choir		Data reviewed
Eilidh	2	50 – 60	A	2	Q	Linda Hirst class, vocal ensembles		Data reviewed
Jane	2	30 – 40	T	5 – 10	E	Recorder class (T)		Did not wish review
Megan	2	50 – 60	T	3	E	Harpsichord class, Fortepiano class (T)		Did not wish review
Philip	2	50 – 60	T	1	E	Piano class (T)		Did not wish review
Sally	3	30 – 40	MGP	15 – 20	E	'In conversation with' events		Data reviewed
Hannah, Ellen, Adam	3	30 – 40	T	2 – 5	E	Folk Music (T)		Did not wish review
Dominic	3	30 – 40	T	3	E	Violin class (T)		Emailed: no response
Duncan	3	50 – 60	A	5 – 10	Q	Guitar class, chamber music		Unable to contact
Ethan	3	30 – 40	DFO	5 – 10	AI		DFO	Data reviewed
Raymond	3	60 – 70	A	3	Q	Choir, Find Your Voice, vocal masterclass		Did not wish review
Dylan	3	50 – 60	T	10 – 15	E	Clarinet class		Emailed: no response

Daphne	4	20 – 30	MGR	2	AI	Vocal class, stewarding		Emailed: no response
Jackie	4	40 – 50	T/ACC	5 – 10	E	Accompanying, Piano duet class (T)		Did not wish review
Kate	4	80 +	A	30 +	Q	Chamber music, masterclass (obs)		Did not wish review
Timothy	4	30 – 40	T/ACC	2	E	Accompanying, Piano class		Did not wish review
Grace	5	50 – 60	A	5	E	Orchestra, brass ensemble, trumpet class		Did not wish review
Kathy	5	50 – 60	A	10 – 15	E	Brass ensemble		Did not wish review
Reuben	5	40 – 50	T	5 – 10	E	Vocal class (T)		Did not wish review
Luke	5	40 – 50	T/ACC	15-20	E	Chamber choir (T)		Data reviewed

**The recording device used during Jack's interview failed to work, so his interview data is based on notes I made afterwards*

Types of people:

	Code
Amateur	A
Music Student	MS
Music Graduate: recent	MGR
Music Graduate: past	MGP
School pupil	S
Tutor	T
Accompanist	ACC
Dartington Festival Orchestra member	DFO
Bursary student	B
Houseparent	HP

Interview arrangements:

	Code	Description
Questionnaire	Q	Questionnaires distributed in 2012
Email	E	Direct email to personal address or via website contact form
Facebook	F	Facebook message
Approach: informed	AI	Researcher approached interviewee on the basis of knowledge of their pathway
Approach: convenience	AC	Interview happened following an informal conversation
Approach: participant	AP	Participant approached researcher and offered to be interviewed

Appendix 2: Participant information sheets



Leading education
and social research
Institute of Education
University of London

Hermione Ruck Keene
Institute of Education
University of London
h.ruckkeene@ioe.ac.uk

PhD Research at Dartington International Summer School 21st July – 25th August 2012

Research Participant Information Sheet

I am a PhD student at the Institute of Education, University of London and my research focusses on Dartington International Summer School. I am looking in particular at the individual experiences and perceptions of participants and tutors. In order to explore this area I will be carrying out a study of the summer school over the five week period that it is running.

I will be asking summer school participants to complete a brief questionnaire about their musical background and experiences. There will also be an opportunity to indicate on the questionnaire if you would be prepared to take part in an informal interview while you are at the summer school, lasting around 30 minutes. Your perspectives are incredibly valuable to me and give very useful insight into how people feel about Dartington there and I would very much appreciate it if you felt able to spare some of your valuable time to talk to me. I will be using audio equipment to record the interviews which will then be transcribed; interviewees will be able to read the transcriptions should they wish, and make any changes that they consider appropriate.

I will also be observing some masterclasses, workshops and rehearsals; if you would prefer not to be included in the research, please don't hesitate to let me know and I will ensure that this does not happen. Some participants are also being asked to keep diaries recording their experiences during the week.

In my analysis and write-up, no research participants will be mentioned by name, unless they choose to be identified. It is possible that participants may be identifiable because of the summer school context, but I will make every effort to ensure that this does not occur.

The results of my research will be used to complete my PhD thesis and to inform future academic papers. A full summary of my findings will be available to any interested parties via the Dartington website.



Leading education
and social research
Institute of Education
University of London



Hermione Ruck Keene
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University of London
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**PhD Research at Dartington International Summer School
27th July – 31st August 2013**

Research Participant Information Sheet

I am a PhD student at the Institute of Education, University of London and my research focusses on Dartington International Summer School. I am looking in particular at the individual experiences and perceptions of participants and tutors. In order to explore this area I will be carrying out a study of the summer school over the five week period that it is running.

I will be interviewing summer school participants, tutors and performers about their experiences. Your perspectives are incredibly valuable to me and give very useful insight into how people feel about Dartington while they are there. I will be using audio equipment to record the interviews which will then be transcribed; interviewees will be able to read the transcriptions should they wish, and make any changes that they consider appropriate.

I will also be observing some masterclasses, workshops and rehearsals; if you would prefer not to be included in the research, please don't hesitate to let me know and I will ensure that this does not happen.

In my analysis and write-up, no research participants will be mentioned by name, unless they choose to be identified. It is possible that participants may be identifiable because of the summer school context, but I will make every effort to ensure that this does not occur.

The results of my research will be used to complete my PhD thesis and to inform future academic papers. A full summary of my findings will be available to any interested parties via the Dartington website.

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

PhD Research Questionnaire

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire as part of a PhD research project looking at people's experiences of attending the Summer School. It should take you no longer than ten minutes to complete. No respondents will be identified by name in the final write-up of the research, but if you do not wish to include your name please leave this space blank. If you would be happy to take part in a short interview (around 30 minutes) about your experiences at Dartington please indicate this by ticking the box at the end of the questionnaire.

Name (optional): _____

Please list any instruments that you currently play or have played in the past:

Current	Past

Are you a member of any groups that make music, rehearse or perform together regularly? Yes/No

If yes please give brief details:

Is this the first time you have attended the Summer School at Dartington? Yes/No

If you have been before, how many times have you attended previously?

How did you find out about the Summer School?

Was there a reason that you chose to attend this particular week?

Which activities are you planning to take part in during your time at Summer School?

Please tick any of the statements below regarding musical activities that apply to you. These may be activities that you are currently involved in, have done in the past or plan to do in the future. You may tick as many boxes as you like.

	Past	Present	Future	Never
Receiving individual tuition on an instrument or in singing				
Giving individual tuition on an instrument or in singing				
Taking vocal or instrumental music grade exams				
Attending class music lessons in a primary or secondary school setting				
Teaching class music in a primary or secondary school setting				
Attending group music tuition in a setting outside school, eg Saturday music school				
Giving group music tuition in a setting outside school, eg Saturday music school				
Studying for an undergraduate degree involving an element of music (academic or performance)				
Studying for a postgraduate degree in academic music or performance				
Performing instrumental or vocal music publicly without receiving a fee				
Performing instrumental or vocal music publicly for a fee				
Directing instrumental or vocal music without receiving a fee				
Directing instrumental or vocal music for a fee				

I would be happy to take part in a short interview (please tick)

☐

The best way to get in touch with me while I am at the Summer School is:

Mobile number: _____

Email address: _____

Note in pigeon holes (please ensure that you have given your full name):

☐

Please either place completed questionnaires in the boxes outside the Great Hall or in the office, or give to Hermione Ruck Keene in person.

Appendix 4: Email to diary subjects and information included in diaries

Hi there,

Thank you so much for getting back to me about the possibility of keeping a diary while at Dartington this year. I am asking people to do this in order to find out more about their experiences of music-making at the Summer School.

If you agree to take part in the research in this way, I would meet up with you at the beginning of the week to talk you through the process and find out a little more about you. There would also be a short follow-up interview at the end of the week. You could choose either a paper or computer based diary, depending on how you prefer to record your ideas. Guidance will be given to you about areas that you might like to write about but there would be no requirement to answer specific questions. You could jot down ideas about anything that was of interest to you about your day and the musical activities that you experienced. Most importantly, no amount of writing would be too little! I realise how valuable your time at Dartington is and that you are planning to go there to make music, so even if you were only able to write a couple of sentences each day that would be absolutely fine.

Any comments or observations from your diaries that are included in the final research write-up would be anonymised and I would send you the relevant section to read before publication. If you were to decide part way through the process that you would prefer your diary not to be included then that would not be a problem in any way.

If you do decide to take part, I think you will find the process of keeping a 'Dartington Diary' very interesting on a personal level - and obviously it would be of enormous use to me in terms of finding out about people's daily experiences in a way that would be difficult through other research methods.

If you would like to go ahead, do let me know and I will arrange a time to meet up with you when you arrive at the Summer School. Either way, I'm sure we'll see each other at some point while we are both there!

Best wishes,

Hermione

Information included in the diary

Thank you so much for agreeing to keep a Dartington Diary. I hope you will find the experience rewarding and not onerous! Please remember, nothing is too little to write. Please also don't feel the need to produce beautifully crafted prose; bullet points or odd words are absolutely fine.

Here are some areas that you might like to write about:

- What did you do each day? Which classes, rehearsals and performances did you go along to? There is no need to list activities each day if you are attending a regular course; maybe just talk about anything new that you chose to do.
- Can you describe any high or low points of the day?
- Did you see any performances in workshops, masterclasses or concerts that particularly impressed you?
- Were there any experiences of making music with others that were particularly rewarding?
- Did you take part in any impromptu music making?

Appendix 5: Observations completed

2012

Activity observed	Date
Singing Masterclass	22.7.12, 23.7.12
Summer School Choir	22.7. 12, 25.7.12, 5.8.12, 12.8.12, 19.8.12
Singing Workshop 1	22.7.12
Medieval Music Class	24.7.12
Baroque Orchestra rehearsal	26.7.12
Creative Composition Class	30.7.12, 31.7.12, 2.8.12
Singing Workshop 2	31.7.12, 1.8.12, 2.8.12
Baroque Opera Performance	2.8.12
Violin Workshop 1	6.8.12
String Orchestra Rehearsal	7.8.12
Cello Workshop	7.8.12
Singing Workshop 3	14.8.12
Dartington Festival Orchestra Rehearsal	15.8.12
Chamber Choir Rehearsal	19.8.12

2013

Activity observed	Date
Baroque Orchestra	29.7.13, 30.7.13
Summer School Choir	30.7.13, 6.8.13
West African Drumming	31.7.13
West African Drumming Performance	2.8.13
Early Brass Rehearsal	2.8.13
Sight Reading Class	30.7.13
Gamelan Class	31.7.13
Mbira Class	28.7.13
Vocal Ensembles	31.7.13
Harpsichord Class	7.8.13
Piano Workshop 1	7.8.13
Recorder Workshop	8.8.13
Violin Workshop 2	15.8.13
Piano Duet Class	19.8.13
Singing Workshop 4	21.8.13
Chamber Choir	18.8.13
Clarinet Workshop	21.8.13
Piano Workshop 2	20.8.13
Singing Workshop 5	26.8.13

Appendix 6: Coding exemplars

COMPARISON OF PROFESSIONAL LIFE

in my professional career I had to take on a whole lot of management tasks so I've
ent by watching and seeing how other people did it, and then in the 1990s there was a
ing on management courses and effectively they were just teaching me what I already
ery much easier, so discovering for oneself is rather (ind) – if you discover it for
e comfortably in your mind.] FINDING OUT FOR YOURSELF

eresting – and would you that, have you learned more about singing in a choir here
ble to apply when you've gone home to your choir or vice versa?
CONDUCTORS

I know, I think one, every conductor has a personality and teaches you different things
ontinuous accretion LIFELONG LEARNING

sort of say that experience..

oesn't go in sort of peaks and troughs, but just goes as a sort of – hopefully steadily
AL LEARNING = ONGOING

hoir that you're in at home, is that quite a large choir as well?

ut as big as – I don't know how many people are singing this week
probably about 80 – it's a big choir NUMBERS OF PARTICIPANTS

you ever sung in smaller choirs, is that something you've ever done? PERSONAL HIERARCHY

is here the first year I came, and [again I was in a group with somebody stronger than I
me part] and that was quite, that was useful – I would find it very difficult to sing my
a single part in a four part group HOLDING ALONE

hy do you think you'd find that difficult?
WORK HARD PRACTICE LIMITED TIME AT DIS
I can't, I'd have to work very hard at learning my part, whereas there's not time to do
ED FACILITIES

he facility to do it, so I would find it very difficult to pick up a madrigal and just sing my
ractise my part – that's what I'm saying, I'm not a professional musician, I'm an

his definition of the difference bet. pro + amateur
→ vocal production
ability to just pick something up + sing

to regular
ity
for attending

25.5.14

- Name: techniques of managing to sing in a choir when you don't consider yourself a very confident musician
- all quite technical + not very emotional: is the gender aspect to this? Also he is a doctor so pres. interested in the physical aspects.

of watching others

leads: can often be defined with reference to yourself when you are making music together ←

* becomes a very relational / self-referential process: effects on self-esteem?

Appendix 7: Courses and classes at DISS

- Summer School Choir: a longstanding feature of DISS, the choir, open to all, meets at 9.15 each morning and works towards a performance of a large-scale choral work.
- Orchestral Workshop: an 'all comers' orchestra in the same session as choir, but not necessarily working towards a performance.
- Instrumental and vocal workshops: open to all and involving a combination of individual and/or group work; instrumental classes are focused on a single instrument.
- Instrumental and vocal masterclasses: designated as being for advanced level participants, although in practice many operate in a similar way to the workshop; the distinction between the two types of class will be discussed in greater detail below.
- Pre-selected courses: open only to advanced level participants who have been pre-selected via an audition or submission of a recording.
- Chamber music: a formally organised chamber music programme under the management of tutors (Chamber Music Associates, responsible for the programming and organisation of the groups) and led by a resident ensemble. Many participants also meet informally to play chamber music.
- Ensemble courses: coached vocal or instrumental ensembles, predominantly instrumental and usually involving some large and small group playing. These courses also include groups such as Tea Dance or Jazz bands.
- Courses in a specific genre or instrument: these courses offer participants the opportunity to learn a new instrument or play in an ensemble in a new genre. Predominantly non-Western in their content, these courses include Choro, Samba, and Salsa bands, as well as Mbira and West African drumming.
- Other classes: DISS also offers courses in other areas such as Tango or Alexander Technique.

Appendix 8: Well-known musicians referenced who have participated in DISS

Amadeus Quartet: Founded at Dartington in 1947, the quartet, consisting of Martin Lovett, Norbert Brainin, Siegmund Nissel, Peter Schidlof, remained in its original form until 1987 when it disbanded.

Janet Baker (b. 1933): British mezzo-soprano, considered spiritual heir to Kathleen Ferrier in promoting song as well as excelling in German repertory. She attended DISS as a singing tutor in the 1960s.

Daniel Barenboim (b. 1942): Argentine-Israeli pianist and conductor who made his international debut aged 10 and founded the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, a youth orchestra whose members come from across the Middle East in 1999 with the academic Edward Said. He attended DISS as a tutor in 1961.

David Bedford (1937 – 2011): British composer of both popular and classical music who studied with Luigi Nono and taught composition and film composition at DISS several times from 1967 onwards.

Luciano Berio (1925 – 2003): Italian Serialist composer, noted for his experimental compositions and electronic music. He taught composition at DISS in 1961.

Nadia Boulanger (1887 – 1979): French composer, conductor and teacher, renowned for teaching many the prominent musicians of the 20th century. She taught at the first summer school in Bryanston in 1948.

Alfred Brendel (b. 1931): Austrian pianist, teacher and poet; specialist in core German repertoire of Beethoven, Haydn and Schubert. He has attended DISS several times as tutor and lecturer.

Benjamin Britten (1913 – 1976): British composer, conductor and pianist, who was very influential in the British twentieth century music sphere. He co-founded the Aldeburgh Festival and visited Dartington in

Elliot Carter (1908 – 2012): American composer who was twice awarded the Pulitzer Prize. He studied composition with Nadia Boulanger and attended DISS as a composition tutor in 1957.

Mark Elder (b. 1947): British conductor who rose to fame working with English National Opera in the 1980s and is director of the Hallé Orchestra. He has attended DISS as a conducting tutor.

Georges Enescu (1881 – 1955): Romanian composer, violinist, pianist, conductor, and teacher, arguably Romania's most famous composer and teacher of the violinist Yehudi Menuhin. He visited DISS as a composition tutor.

Michael Fields (b. 1951) British American guitar, lute and theorbo player, who has played and recorded extensively with Evelyn Tubb.

Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau (1925 – 2012): German baritone whose vast career spanned the rise and fall of the record industry, and promoted German song to an international popular level. He performed at DISS in 1953.

Chloe Hanslip (b. 1987): British violinist and child prodigy who released her debut album at the age of 14, and is known for promoting forgotten repertoire. She has attended DISS as a student, tutor and performer.

Paul Hindemith (1895 – 1963): German composer and teacher, best known for his opera 'Mathis der Maler'. He lectured at the first summer school at Bryanston in 1948.

Imogen Holst (1907 – 1984): Composer, conductor and music pedagogue. Daughter of Gustav Holst and Artistic Director of Aldeburgh Festival for 20 years, she worked closely with Benjamin Britten for much of his career.

Gustav Holst (1874 – 1934): Composer and teacher, for many years Director of Music at Morley College and St Paul's Girls Schools in London.

Juilliard Quartet: Founded in 1946 and quartet-in-residence at the Juilliard School of Music in New York.

Elisabeth Lutyens (1906 – 1983): British composer and daughter of the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, known for introducing Schoenbergian serialist technique to the UK. She taught composition at DISS in 1953 and 1954.

Witold Lutoslawski (1913 – 1994): Polish composer and conductor, one of the most renowned Polish composers of the twentieth century who taught composition at DISS in 1964.

Peter Maxwell Davies (1934 – 2016): Eclectic British composer who despite his anti-establishment tendencies became Master of the Queen's Music in 2004. He was Artistic Director of DISS from 1979 – 1984.

Gerald Moore (1899 – 1987): British accompanist who significantly raised the reputation of that role. He worked with all the prominent solo performers of this day, particularly singers and gave masterclasses at DISS.

Joanna MacGregor (b. 1959): British pianist, currently Head of Piano at the Royal Academy of Music in London. Known for her eclectic and innovative approaches to repertoire, she first attended DISS as a student and has been Artistic Director of DISS since 2014.

Charles Mackerras (1925 – 2010): Australian conductor, specialist in Janacek, whose music he brought to international recognition, and pioneer in historically informed performance of Mozart. He attended DISS as a conducting tutor.

Neville Marriner (1924 – 2016): British conductor and founder of the Academy of St Martin in the Fields, who attended DISS many times as a performer, conductor and speaker.

Yehudi Menuhin (1916 – 1999): American violinist, teacher, conductor, and child prodigy whose career spanned recording with Elgar to founding the Yehudi Menuhin School in 1962.

Roger Norrington (b. 1934): British conductor and pioneer of the period instrument revival, best known for his historically informed performances. He attended DISS as a conducting tutor.

Jacqueline du Pré (1945 – 1987): British cellist, who like her husband Daniel Barenboim rose to fame at a very young age, before Multiple Sclerosis ended her career. She first attended DISS as a student in 1962.

Simon Rattle (b. 1955): Conductor, specialising in twentieth century repertoire. Heavily involved in music and social education, he has been chief conductor of the CBSO, Berlin Philharmonic and now LSO. He first attended DISS as a teenager with his parents.

Robert Saxton (1953 -): British composer who was initially taught by Elisabeth Lutyens and Benjamin Britten. He is currently Professor of Composition at the University of Oxford and has attended DISS several times as a composition tutor.

Artur Schnabel (1882 – 1951): Austrian pianist, notable for his legacy of recorded music as well as a small selection of compositions towards the end of his life.

Igor Stravinsky (1882 – 1971): Russian emigré composer, best known for ‘Rite of Spring’. He visited DISS in 1957.

Kathryn Tickell (b. 1967): Renowned British folk musician and composer, performing on Northumbrian smallpipes and fiddle. She first attended DISS as a composition student in 1999.

Paul Tortelier (1914 – 1990): French cellist and teacher at the Paris Conservatoire. He visited DISS in 1962 as a cello tutor, where he first taught Jacqueline du Pré.

Evelyn Tubb British soprano, specialising in the Early Music repertoire. She teaches at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in Basel, Switzerland and has attended DISS many times as a vocal tutor.

Huw Watkins (b. 1976): British composer and pianist. Professor of Composition at the Royal College of Music, he has attended DISS several times as a piano tutor.

Judith Weir (b. 1954): British composer predominantly of opera and song, who succeeded Peter Maxwell Davies as Master of the Queen's Music. She taught composition at DISS in 1999

John Woolrich (b. 1954): British composer and founder of the Composers Ensemble, whose music often takes inspiration from the past. He attended DISS as a composition tutor several times and was Artistic Director from 2010 – 2013.